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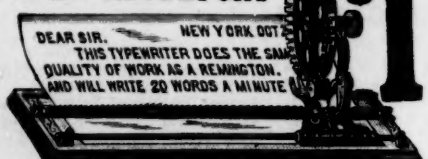
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The Reviews.

POLITICAL.

ULSTER AND HOME RULE.

ST. LOE STRACHEY.

Nineteenth Century, London, June.

BELFAST remained awake to hear the result of the division on Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill in 1886, and when the news that saved Ulster flashed across the wires the whole city "fraternized." Strangers, as they passed each other in the streets, stopped to express their thankfulness and delight; for a common peril and a common relief made all men acquainted. But the enthusiasm was not confined to the streets. Bands of workmen went through the suburb roads, knocking at the doors of houses "to pass the word," knowing that even at that hour of the night they would be sure of a welcome. All this, perhaps, might have happened in other towns, upon occasion, but in Belfast a touch was added that showed the special temper of the people. After a band had given their message to a household, they would fall on

their knees in the garden and join in prayer and thanksgiving for the mercy vouchsafed to Ulster. Such acts strike the moral key-note of Belfast. We may sneer at its inhabitants as religious bigots, and as belated upholders of fanaticism, but facts like these cannot be ignored. The Belfast of to-day has the old Puritan spirit—the spirit which overthrew Charles and raised in his stead the reign of saints. This is the spirit, these the people, which the Gladstonians expect to see submit to the rule of a Dublin Parliament without a struggle.

I have no desire to write a word which may encourage the people of Belfast and Ulster to resist the application to them of a Home Rule Act. There are undoubtedly circumstances under which the right of resistance accrues, but it is the men of Ulster alone who can decide whether those circumstances have arisen. Before the people of Great Britain determine that they will not listen to the demand of the Northern counties to remain under the Parliament at Westminster and attempt to force them under the domination of the South, they ought to face the Ulster problem as a whole.

The most important question in that problem is: Will the Protestant North really resist the execution of powers of legislation and administration conferred upon a Dublin Parliament? Whether they ought to resist is another matter. The question is, Will they resist? and, if they do, will their resistance be of a kind that will cancel the advantages sought to be obtained from Home Rule. The matters I desire to discuss are: (1) The genuineness, or otherwise, of the threatened resistance of the North; (2) the character such resistance is likely to assume; (3) the results of an attempt to suppress resistance.

That the movement which has resulted in the summoning of the Convention which will consider the best methods of resisting Home Rule was spontaneous there can be no sort of doubt. It is the result of the double determination not to be caught unprepared if Home Rule should pass, and to address to the electors of Great Britain a collective appeal on behalf of the Protestants of the North. The threat of Home Rule has brought the whole of the Protestants into line, and Protestant Liberals and Protestant Tories, Episcopalians and Presbyterians, once so bitterly opposed in Ulster, have taken common ground in a common danger. Strange as it may seem, the Convention will even now be the first occasion on which many of the Orange and Liberal leaders have ever met. Nothing but the gravest danger would ever have united the Ulster Liberals and the Orangemen.

Unquestionably the resistance which will be offered to Home Rule will be perfectly genuine and spontaneous. Except for an infinitesimal minority, the Protestants of the North are determined to resist the rule of a Dublin Parliament.

The Ulstermen argue that by whatever right the rest of Ireland claims to withdraw from the rule of the Westminster Parliament, by that right Ulster can claim to remain. They claim a moral right to ignore and disobey a Parliament set up against their wishes. If the Convention adopts a policy based upon these propositions, the resistance offered by Ulster need be nothing but passive. What would happen if Mr. Gladstone were to pass his Bill, would be something like this: The Act would probably direct that writs should issue for the return of the Irish Parliament. In the North, the returning officers would throw the writs aside, risking the actions that would be brought against them, and no election would take place. But this would not prevent the Dublin Parliament meeting and doing business. Presumably that Parliament's earliest duties would be to fill its coffers, and taxation would

be at once imposed. Here, then, would come the first point of friction. The Ulstermen would refuse to pay a tax levied in Dublin, and then the Dublin Parliament would be face to face with a strike against taxes in which the entire North would be engaged. The Parliament would no doubt prefer to have its officers meet with open resistance; but they would probably be confronted with that most appalling of all forms of organized resistance—a Quaker rebellion. The Ulstermen would probably allow their goods to be seized, but what then? No one would buy at the sales, and the Dublin Parliament would find themselves spending thousands to raise a few pounds of taxation. Passive resistance and ignoring the Dublin Parliament in all its works, could hardly fail of success. The Imperial Parliament would be with difficulty persuaded to use its soldiers to collect Irish local taxes, and so long as open riot was avoided, there would be no other excuse for dragooning Ulster. It is improbable that the Ulstermen will afford any excuse for the use of Imperial troops. Ulster will not fight till she is attacked.

But it may be said that the Imperial Parliament will be unable to tolerate the passive resistance of Ulster. When the Dublin Parliament asks for help, they will have to either repeal the Home Rule Bill, or break down the passive resistance by Imperial coercion. I cannot help believing that the first alternative is most likely to be accepted. If, however, they adopt coercion, England will certainly be confronted with civil war in its most dangerous and hideous form; for England will find then the bitterest enemies she ever had.

No doubt we could put Ulster down, and hold her down, but would the result be worth having, looked at from the least sentimental point of view possible. Granted that Home Rule had pacified the South, and made the Celtic Irish loyal, we should only have shifted the area of rebellion, and have made the strongest, richest, and most vigorous portion of the Irish people our enemies instead of our friends. As long as the Union is maintained there is some hope of peace being kept. Home Rule is intended to pacify Ireland, but it cannot pacify Ireland because of Ulster. This is a fact upon which English and Scotch electors should think long and think wisely.

THE POLITICAL POSITION FOLLOWING THE PUBLIC-SCHOOL CRISIS.

Preussische Jahrbücher, Berlin, May.

IN time of war, both sides are sometimes ready to agree to a truce, not with the design of securing peace, but simply because each belligerent thinks he can utilize the opportunity for preparation to greater advantage than his opponent; and war students still dispute among themselves as to whether the truce of 1813 was more advantageous for the Allies or for the French. The present situation of German parties is something similar: With the fall of Count Zedlitz and the withdrawal of the Public School Bill, the Liberals were exultant, but now one hears occasionally the statement that the only victor is Herr von Hammerstein, for the loss of the Bill was trifling, and as compensation it brought him the undisputed control of his party for his policy. The question is now: Whom will this condition of things permanently benefit; the Liberals, by the relaxation of the Conservative hold on the country, or the Reactionaries, who will maintain the existing strength of the Conservative party under the new flag?

If we enter on the next elections with the public school question still unsolved, there can be no doubt that a considerable section of the Moderates will be tempted to join forces with the ultra-Liberals against the Conservatives. It were vain to suppose that a year and a day will suffice to consign the Public-School battle to oblivion. Not only the nature of the question, but the interests of both the extreme parties are involved in keeping the question alive. They are always glad of a party cry to serve as a rallying point. The next elections

(fall of 1893) will be essentially fought out on the Public-School question. If the Conservatives be returned with even approximately their present strength, with this question for their rallying cry, the "Reaction" will have won a great victory. Even if the Conservatives lose 30 votes, about a fourth of their strength, they will still, with the Poles and the Centre, command half the numerical strength of the House, which, in comparison with existing conditions, would be a triumph for Herr von Hammerstein. Not until the Reactionary-Conservative party sustains a severe defeat, reducing it to one-half the present Conservative fraction, can the other party talk of victory.

One hears it frequently said that the Conservatives can look for success only in connection with the Government. This is said as a reproach. As a matter of fact, however, in the Prussian Constitution the natural function of the Conservatives is to uphold the Government. It may as a party oppose the Government on any given issue, but it could not long remain in opposition without losing its essential character. It is expected to go further than any other party in support of the Government.

Hence it would appear as if we must point to the conclusion that the new "Reactionary Party, in the Opposition" must necessarily suffer shipwreck at the elections. And so it will, if the Government oppose it resolutely. But this it will hardly be disposed to do. It is a matter of dealing with a well-deserving old Conservative element, and it is extremely improbable that the Minister-President, Count Eulenburg, will wage open war on it.

They are already looking about for some compensation for the lost Government support, and they seek to import a popular element into their programme. Until now its popular element has been the monarchical; the reputation enjoyed by this party as the essentially loyal party, gave it a recognized standing among all classes of people. Failing this, something else must be sought to replace it, for neither the agrarian, nor the clerical interest will suffice to render the party really popular. Anti-Semitism is resorted to to repair the deficiency. The idea is not without shrewdness; not the noisy popular Anti-Semitism, but a certain quiet Anti-Semitism is nowadays a genuine force. The position is somewhat as follows: There are very few who want legislative measures against the Jews, but very many are of opinion that Jewish influence exercises a positive and prejudicial influence in public life, and should consequently be combated and repressed. The programme may awaken sympathy but it is not a practical one; it is difficult to set precise limits to it. The moment the Conservative party writes Anti-Semitism on its official programme, it will find itself associated with the wild Anti-Semitism of the Social-Democratic party; the demagogues would get the upper hand, and the party would lose as much by the defection of its more cultivated members, as it would gain by the adherence of the Social-Democrats.

In this state of affairs, the best interests of the Moderate party as of the Government, and no less so the best interests of the Conservatives themselves would be subserved by guiding the latter back into their familiar pastures, and preventing the new "Reaction" from coming to a head.

To this end, however, it is absolutely necessary that the Public-School Bill be disposed of in the next winter session, so that it may no longer prove the occasion for party strife. To many people the attempt to satisfy both the Moderates and the party of the Centre, will appear as hopeful as the attempt to square the circle. We answer, it is by no means so hopeless a problem; that indeed it is only necessary to give up the stupidest of prejudices. What these are has been already referred to in previous correspondence. From the Ultramontane side, too, we may find a clue to the solution in the *Kölnische Volks-Zeitung*, which says:

"We would never agree to a State organization of the school

system, amounting practically to a State school monopoly, unless, at least, the communication of religious instruction in the spirit of our Church were guaranteed; and, further, that the unrestricted right of private schools be conceded as an outlet in case of necessity."

Of course, when a party organ writes, "This, at least, we must insist on," it means that it will be very well satisfied to get it. In this "at least" we have then the whole limitation of the difficulty of making peace with our Catholic fellow-countrymen; and so much, we venture to say, the State may, and should, concede.

If, unfortunately, it be impossible to agree upon a school law, it will be necessary at once in the next session to pass such an endowment law as shall afford a guarantee against any immediate reopening of the school-law question. We believe, however, it will be easier to agree upon a school law, than on an endowment law.

It rests with the Government to determine the direction of party evolution. If the school question be not settled at the next session, the existing general ill-feeling will continue, the Conservatives will remain divided; and the tendency of both sides will be to concentrate on extreme measures. Even this condition of things may not be without its compensations; but we believe the wiser course is to conciliate the Conservatives, and if we rightly apprehend the last debate in the Chamber of Deputies, Herr v. Rauchhauf, the leader of the Conservatives, is disposed to effect a union with the Moderates. He has consented to the throwing overboard of Herr v. Hellendorf as a means of allaying the storm, and, taking the helm, he has made the mildest and most conciliatory speeches in the House of Deputies; but all that will not help him if he fail to reach a positive solution of the public-school question, the only means of allaying the party strife.

THE DUTY OF THE CONSERVATIVES IN FRANCE.

ETIENNE LAMY.

Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris, June.

IN every human society are found two kinds of men, one desirous of preserving, the other desirous of changing, the institutions which time has sanctioned. While the undying antagonism between the revolutionary spirit and the conservative spirit causes each to struggle with the other for mastery in the world, their alternate triumphs bring with them order in the movement of society.

The strangeness of the present situation in France is that this alternation of triumph has ceased to govern the movement of parties. A republic has been founded in which for twenty years the conservatives have had neither share nor influence in the government. The partisans of revolution who established the Republic, remain its masters and bend their energies to infuse their spirit into the government without finding any obstacles in their way.

The conservatives have remained vanquished because they have been divided. Part of them, as is always the case with some people of a conservative turn of mind, accepted the new form of government in the hope of restoring order. These, however, were but a fraction, and the least numerous of their party. The larger portion of the party, having persisted in thinking that the first and indispensable condition of order was the fall of the republic, proposed, not to rule the republic, but to destroy it. For twenty years they have employed all their strength in this contest. The rupture in the conservative party has perpetuated two results: the republic has not been destroyed, because in France the republican conservatives united with the revolutionary republicans to form a majority against the monarchists; the Republic has not been conservative, because in the republican party the revolutionists have the majority over the conservatives.

It appears as though this state of things is near its end, and that another state of things is preparing. The continued disasters of the monarchists have ended in giving credit among them to the opinion that to struggle against the republic is to struggle against the inevitable. Since so much royalist fidelity has benefited the revolutionary party alone, the monarchists appear to have perceived that it is the part of wisdom to abandon the monarchy which they cannot save, for the purpose of saving the order which they have not the right to allow to perish.

At the moment, when the conservatives manifest a disposition to follow this new line of conduct, it is useful to inquire what are their chances of retrieving themselves, and what faults on their part are likely to stand in the way of their success.

The monarchical party, in 1871, was composed of Frenchmen born, of full age, accustomed to think and to live under a monarchy. Some of that party regretted the prosperity of the Empire; others, having remained faithful to the house of Orleans, thought they had a right to place reliance on the exceptional gifts of its princes; still others recognized legitimacy and saw in the Count of Chambord a vision of the Most Christian King. For all of the party the republic was but an interregnum.

To the men who composed the monarchical party in 1871 has succeeded a new generation. Many of those who so proudly ranged themselves under the monarchist banner, twenty years ago, are in their graves. Those who have inherited their opinions, have become thoroughly satisfied that the republic is not an interregnum, but something which has come to stay, and that to war against it is a foolish waste of time and strength. The heirs of the old opinions have therefore transformed the monarchical question into a religious question, and, abandoning the dead faith in order to save the living faith, have declared their willingness to capitulate to the Republic, upon the sole condition that the Republic will cease to make war on Roman Catholicism.

Undoubtedly the condition which is thus sought to be imposed on the Republic does honor, from one point of view, to those who seek to impose it. With them the condition is a matter of conscience, and respect is always due to those who obey their conscience. In this case, however, the conscience is an unenlightened one, and by their shortsightedness they are defeating the very end they seek to attain. Why should the republicans submit to conditions? The Republic has no need of monarchist conversions in order to exist, and the hostility of the royalists is a clear gain for the party in power. Thanks to that hostility, the party in power remains undivided. It is absolutely certain that the condition demanded will never be acceded to. While the monarchists are hesitating and talking about conditions, a bright light appears in the sky, *lumen in calo*. If there is a man in the world who suffers from all the wounds inflicted on the Roman Catholic Church, who desires with eagerness peace and power for that Church, who is competent to judge what will benefit or harm it, that man is the Pope. The Pope has just taught the conservatives their duty. In the name of religion in peril, he adjures Christians to accept the Republic, that is, to render their accession to power possible, and their opposition efficacious. Where is the Christian sufficiently learned and infallible to prefer his own hopes, his own regrets, and his particular designs to the advice of such a counsellor?

If the Republic be accepted by the monarchists, what results will follow?

At least one result of capital importance even if there were no other. The adhesion of the royalists to the republic will divide the republicans. These, at present, form but a single army which the most violent command. The union of the conservatives will paralyze the revolutionary offensive in the body politic, will awake a spirit of resistance, and assure in future elections a numerous, living minority for the policy of

wisdom, capable of preventing much evil, instead of a powerless and mute opposition.

A vaster perspective, however, is opened to the conservatives. The men who founded the Republic in France have not given to her things indispensable to every society. Of these the most necessary is peace. Instead of this, the party which reigns has brought to French society two wars—the war of the poor against the rich; the war of those who are indignant at seeing the Roman Catholics treated as public enemies.

Conservatives, you have it in your power to rescue our well-beloved country from the evils which afflict and threaten her, if you choose to give in your adhesion to the Republicans. That adhesion, however, to be valuable in results, must be sincere. You have been waiting so long, that you need not be surprised if the sincerity of your conversion be at first somewhat doubted. Sincerity alone has the divine gift of persuasion, because it wins over to it at the same time the intellects and hearts of others. France will not contest your right to be called republicans, if she sees in you the courage of generous sacrifices, the peace of irrevocable resolutions, a pride in the new grandeur that free democracy must inevitably add to the grandeur of the monarchy, and finally, a firm belief that it is no descent to serve, after the glory of the kings, the happiness of the people.

POLITICS AND THE PULPIT.

North American Review, New York, July.

I.—THE DUTY OF FIGHTING CIVIL CORRUPTION.

THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM CROSSWELL DOANE, BISHOP OF ALBANY.

THAT the Kingdom of Christ is not of this world is a statement which contains an inherent and perpetual law of that Kingdom and lays down, I think, a characteristic feature of the Church. Like the individual Christian, the Church is to be *in* the world but not of it; in it as leaven, salt, light, to quicken, sweeten, and brighten it; and in the case of both there is danger of two extremes: too entire withdrawal from, and too complete mingling with, the world. It is in the golden mean between these two that all duties lie.

Politics is a noble word, sadly degraded. Dragged in the mire of to-day by the selfishness of men and the unscrupulousness of parties, there is a high and holy element in political matters, about which the clergy have great duties to discharge.

We are smarting to-day in the Capital City and in this great State, because of an utter confusion in the minds of men between questions which involve eternal principles of right, truth, morality, righteousness, manhood, citizenship, statesmanship, and the law of God; and the passing, changing, petty, local questions and concerns about which men may honestly differ and disagree.

I believe the first duty of the clergy to their parishioners in political matters is to teach them to draw these distinctions.

When political parties take up *moral* questions in *immoral* ways, it is not political preaching to denounce the immorality; and when immoralities are threatened in political action, it is the duty of the clergy, who are the guardians of morality, to warn their people of the danger.

We ought to teach our people that gambling is a sin; that intemperance must be prevented as far as possible by law, and punished; that the Lord's day must be kept holy, at least by abstinence from work, and the removal of the opportunities for sin; that freedom of worship means *not* allowing the State to provide for the support of any particular religious system. I am inclined to think that the clergy would be wise to begin an effort to wipe out all excise legislation from the *Statute Books*; and to keep, only in the Penal Code, enactments which would punish drunkenness and the makers of it, the violation

of Sunday, and the grosser evils of the liquor trade. It pays the modern politician to keep up saloons, in order to secure the support of their frequenters, and to extort money from them for election purposes. I believe the number of saloons is due to this more than to the number of drinkers. Political saloons and saloon politics are the curse of our legislation. If it cannot be removed in any other way, let us remove liquor from politics, and politics from liquor, by ceasing to legislate on the question at all.

II.—THE PREACHERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

BISHOP WILLARD F. MALLALIEU.

It has often happened in the history of nations that great moral and social and religious questions have confronted the people. At such critical times it is not only the privilege, but it is the imperative duty of the clergy to take a decided and active part in forming public opinion and shaping the conduct of the people.

Such certainly was the course pursued by the priesthood and the prophets under the Mosaic economy. Jesus, the sublime and supreme model of all preachers, denounced in severest terms the scribes and pharisees, the rulers of His people; and held their practices up to the light of day as worthy of the scorn of all good men. Paul and Peter and John, and multitudes of their immediate successors, followed closely the example of the Master. Huss, Savonarola, Martin Luther, and John Knox were as much political agitators and revolutionists as they were political reformers. The sound of Luther's hammer nailing his ninety-five theses upon the oak door of the old Wittenberg Church has never ceased to reverberate, and it is heard to-day wherever shackles are broken and yokes are riven, and wherever the strongholds and bastiles of tyranny and slavery are thrown down by the delivered peoples. It was heard in the clash of arms that emancipated our fathers in the Revolution, and again in the awful thunders of that vaster conflict that brought deliverance to four million slaves. Neither of these struggles would have been entered upon but for the patriotic political action of the clergy.

The preachers of New England made the Revolution possible. Away back as early as 1633 there was a Thursday lecture-ship established in Boston by the Rev. John Cotton, which continued for more than two hundred years. It was especially designed for the discussion of social and political questions by the clergy. It was for one hundred and fifty years most emphatically a nursery of liberal, progressive, revolutionary opinions and ideas. Such distinguished divines as Tucker, Parsons, Hitchcock, Langdon, Mayhew, Stillman, Cooper, Payson, Gordon, Howard, and many others were developed and broadened in this school of patriotism; and their ringing words were powerful in moving and strengthening the people in behalf of liberty.

The preacher would be derelict in the plainest requirements of duty, should he refuse to share the obligations and privileges which rest upon his fellow-citizens. There may be exemptions from a few minor responsibilities, but the essential ones should never be laid aside. As a teacher, his thought must be broad enough to comprehend all that really affects the material, intellectual, or spiritual welfare of man. This will necessarily connect politics and the pulpit.

The preacher must be an example to all who come within the range of his influence. Thus he will find himself within the realm of politics, and here he must illustrate the highest type of patriotism, loyalty, and righteousness.

The preacher must be a leader, or he would be of little use. Furthermore, he should be a reformer. These qualities must take him into the realm of politics; and he cannot avoid discussion of the great underlying principles that are essential to the continuance of good government and to the peace and prosperity of the country.

REPUBLICANISM IN THE SOUTH.

JOHN S. WISE.

Republican Magazine, New York, June.

A NORTHERN man who has never resided in the South knows nothing whatever of the difficulties which environ the effort to build up a Republican party there, or of the mortifications, the provocations, the actual dangers, encountered by a white native who seeks to maintain such Republican party. What is it that has fused the originally discordant elements among the whites of the South into a mass of Democracy that it seems useless to attempt to break up?

As a Southern man, an ex-Confederate, and a Republican, I think I can tell you, and it is idle to deceive ourselves about it.

At the close of the war, every white man of any standing in the South was disqualified. Andrew Johnson, true to the prejudices of his *sans culotte* origin, compelled every man worth \$20,000 to apply for pardon. He was "poor white trash" himself, and he hated a gentleman merely because he was such. For two years military governors ruled the South. For two years the Republican party, so great as to its record in almost everything else, dallied and trifled with the subject of suffrage in the South.

I became of age in 1867. My father was still deprived of his vote; so was I. I had no vote until 1869. During all this time the Republican party was doing everything possible to make the Southern whites coalesce into opposition to it, by a course of idiotic legislation which doubled the power of the South, and inevitably placed that doubled power in the very hands from which the Republican party sought to wrest it. This was done by withholding suffrage from all the whites, and threatening to give it to all the blacks; until whites, who would never have voted together otherwise, fused through resentment and fear.

If the Republican party, wisely forgetting its resentments, had set these old antagonists to voting again, reserving the question of negro suffrage, the whites would have been divided in the South within two years after the war ended. The old Whig and Democratic elements cordially hated each other. The representation of the South would have been too small to affect national results, even if it had been united. But, small as it was, it would have been divided between the Republican and Democratic parties. Then, by the time Congress would have been ready to confer, and the negro to receive, suffrage, the South, always thirsting for increased representation, would have been herself clamorous for it through both parties, as the means of securing increased power. The black voters would have divided between both parties, and both would have done justice to them because of the desire to secure votes. No matter how the negro vote distributed itself, there would have been a substantial element of whites in both parties.

What actually happened has proved a curse to the section, and to both races. The whites formed conservative or white-man's parties, embracing all shades of former political opinion, with the single tenet of maintaining white supremacy.

They did not dare at first to call themselves the Democratic party. They embraced too many men who hated Democracy. But they drifted into alliance with, and gradually assumed the name of, the Democracy. To maintain white supremacy they resorted to any means, fair or foul. Foul means were often resorted to.

The Southern Democrats are now lost to all sense of shame as to their perjuries and ballot-stuffing. They have repeatedly boasted to me of cheating the negroes, and explained how they did it. A man, otherwise honest, will deliberately perjure himself, and think he has done the community and the State good service. It was such perjury and fraud that defeated me for Governor of Virginia in 1885. God help the morals and the future of any community in which such things

are countenanced. This falsehood surely saps the private life and morals of the communities in which it is practiced.

There is no chance for Republican success in any Southern State. The election machinery is in the hands of the Democrats; was devised for the express purpose of cheating; and the Republican vote, massed in certain counties, is cast by negroes, without enough white voters to even discover the frauds.

Force Bills cannot reach the evil. To carry out a Force Bill would require the presence of enough honest Republicans from other places to imperil the Republican majorities there.

Another discouragement is that Northern men, even "staunch Republicans," who take up their residence in the South, either remain politically inactive or vote with the Democrats, to save their families from social ostracism. I know of many such cases.

Another thing which stands in the way of building up a Republican party in the South is such absolute snubbing and ignoring as the present administration has given Southern Republicans. This is beyond comparison the most sectional administration that has ever been in power. The South is no more a part of it than Hayti, Cuba, or Jamaica. Outside of West Virginia, which is not a Southern State, and never has been, and which has been coddled by President Harrison for purposes of his own, he has shown no more interest in or desire to take Southern Republicans into his confidence, or to reward them for their struggles and sacrifices than if they had been so many yellow dogs.

Democracy might remain in power fifty years without dealing Republicanism in the South such deadly blows as it has received at the hands of this administration in the three years it has been in power.

SOCIOLOGICAL.

OUR OUTCAST COUSINS IN INDIA.

THE REVEREND GRAHAM SANBERG.

Contemporary Review, London, June.

THERE is in India a section of the community, the majority of whose members speak English, and are known by surnames identical with those borne by scions of our loftiest houses at home—Villiers, Howard, Douglas, de Montmorency, and the rest, being each fully represented. Moreover their religion, invariably Christian, is another strong link. Yet assuredly they are not British born, for, although some of them are fair, they range as a body through all shades from cream to coffee. Officially they are termed East Indians; in general they are spoken of as Eurasians. They are in fact the descendants, sometimes immediate, sometimes more or less remote, of conjugal unions entered into betwixt Europeans and natives of India. A section of these Eurasians are the descendants of the Indian civilians and military officers of an early day; they rejoice in English surnames, and number in their ranks many men of talent and good position. Some of the early Eurasians were indeed the offspring of legitimate marriages, or received the care due to legitimate children. A century ago, the Zenana was a recognized feature of the European official's residence.

So far, my remarks concern what may be characterized as the *élite* of the Eurasian community, many of whom are received in European society, and betray few marks of their native origin. The bulk of these people are hopelessly painted with their origin, in every shade of color belonging to the East. The poor creatures are never allowed to forget their color, which has come to be regarded as a stigma and a stain. Not only socially but also politically, and by Government action, have they to pay the penalty of their mixed birth. Their color and antecedents disqualify them for employment

as Europeans, their religion and social system debar them from participation in native industries. Despised by both races, their condition is thus often pitiable.

Large numbers of English-named members of this community must, however, trace their extraction to sources generally deemed more decidedly ignoble. Soldiers, sailors, and the lower strata of railway employés, have left their representatives whose descendants are now a burden and a care to the present generation. But in present years it must be confessed that the more numerous additions to these unfortunates hail from Assam and the hills, and derive their birth from the immoral connections of a class of Englishmen of generally good antecedents and manly occupations from whom one might have ventured to hope better things.

It is difficult to encounter frankly the issues and approaches of such a subject without wounding in a measure the susceptibilities of many worthy people, both in and out of India, who are conscious of a pedigree which might, in some sort, include them within the tenor of my remarks. So let it be plainly understood that to attach ignominy to the Eurasian people as a whole is far from the writer's purpose. He is proud to know intimately and to honor highly a goodly number of Eurasian gentlemen who, by their undoubted talents and integrity, have won for themselves positions of great responsibility, which they hold with much benefit to the Governments that have recognized their merits and advanced them. These are not unfairly treated, even from a social point of view. But, setting apart the comparative few who have thus acquired place and position, it must be confessed that the capabilities of the average middle-class Eurasian do not rise to the level of those of the educated Bengali or Hindoo. Still many openings exist for Eurasians of fair education and perseverance, though in the latter quality they are often piteously lacking. The Post-office, very unfairly, has lately been closed against them, and in mercantile houses the responsible subordinate posts are all filled by Bengali Baboos.

And now comes the burning question disturbing the social philosophers and economic philanthropists of India: What is to be done with the now overwhelming horde of low-class, degraded Eurasians who fester in the great cities of the Indian Presidencies—sunk in the deepest poverty, incapable of helping themselves, hopelessly unstable, of a sore and creeping spirit? The question reëchoes back upon the propounders of it. In Calcutta alone, there are seven thousand of these our "Outcast Cousins," the fruits of our sins, children of our faith, living, sinning, rotting, dying—despised of all men as the very sediment of a city of Pagan Asiatics. What shall we do with them? What shall be done for them? The more closely you grow acquainted with their personal character, the less practical does every scheme of regeneration or reformation appear to you. Five thousand, six hundred of these Calcutta Eurasians look for their maintenance solely to private alms and public charities. They have not the native's stamina for physical toil; why then do we still find prevailing the iniquitous system of ejecting the Eurasian clerks from Government offices, to make room for Hindoos? Why, I ask, is the Hindoo's preference for his own caste people to weigh against the Eurasian's bare necessities?

One other great opening for the unemployed has often been discussed in India, and it will seem strange to the reader at home that its propriety should still remain a question. No Eurasian, however desirous, is permitted to enter the military service. It is now proposed to inaugurate several special Eurasian regiments. Such military employment would open a fine field for betterment to hundreds of loafers and mendicants. There has also been inaugurated an Anglo-Indian and Eurasian Association, offering all the advantages of a benefit society to its members. Such a union as this might accomplish wonders in imparting *verve* and tone to a race naturally spiritless in fibre.

THE VICAR OF CHRIST IN HIS RELATION TO CIVIL SOCIETY.

REVEREND WILLIAM HUMPHREY.

Month, London, June.

CIVIL society is the creation of God. Man is, of his nature, a social being. He finds himself, at his entrance into the world, a member of a human society. In that society he is a subject, and he has superiors. A man's parents are his superiors in that primary society which is called the family.

The head of the woman is the man, and God has made wives to be subject to their husbands. To both husband and wife are their children subject by the ordinance of God.

Every family is a true society inasmuch as it contains a principle of authority which is the centre of its unity.

A society which is a unity of itself, may form part of an aggregate of societies, which together form one society. This larger society, like the individual societies of which it consists, constitutes a society by the presence within it of a principle of authority, which is the keystone of its unity.

A society of families is a *civil* society, and is subject to a superior who is their *civil* ruler.

The family does not lose its individuality in the civil society of which it forms part, nor is the authority of the domestic superior lost in that of the civil ruler.

In domestic society there can be no question as to who the domestic ruler is to be. In civil society the question is not so precisely determined. There is no precise form of civil government which is directly of Divine determination. But the *form* of government is distinct from the *power* which the civil ruler wields. Whatever the form of government may be, that power is from God. There exists, by ordinance of God, a power in civil society which is a participation of the Divine power. He who is the one source of all being, must necessarily be the one source of all power. Apart from participation of the Divine power, there cannot be lawful power in any man over his fellow men.

It follows that, since civil power is from God, it cannot be exercised as if it were independent of God. Civil society cannot reasonably be Godless.

The immediate end of the civil ruler is the temporal welfare of his subjects. But all temporal welfare must be considered as subordinate to eternal welfare; all laws of man must be laid down in accordance with the law of God, and every human ruler must, in his government, have regard to the rights of God.

If God has instituted among men a religious power, to teach them with Divine authority, in order to their eternal welfare, and to the furtherance of His rights, it is clear that the civil ruler must take this power into account. He whose power is itself derived from God, cannot reasonably ignore a power which God has directly instituted. He will have no right to make any law which is opposed to the law laid down with Divine authority by that higher legislative power which is of God's immediate institution, and he will be bound, not in any way to hinder the exercise of its religious authority. He will further be bound to lend his aid, and to use the power at his disposal, in support and defense of the religious society which God has created for the promotion of men's eternal welfare, and in strengthening the hands of the ruler of that society.

The two powers, the religious and the civil, are distinct, and each of them is, in its own order, independent. There is, nevertheless, in an exclusively Christian country, a bond between the two powers, inasmuch as they are the same men who are the subjects of both powers.

The bond between them is not one of coördination, for the two powers are related to each other in the same way, as the ends of those powers are related to each other. Those ends are not coördinate, but subordinate the one to the other; the

end of the civil power being the promotion of civil order and temporal welfare, while the end of the religious power is to secure God's rights and men's eternal welfare. But while there is, and (in the nature of things, and as reason itself demands) must be, subordination of the civil power to the religious power, this subordination is not *direct*. Jesus Christ bestowed religious power on Peter, but not civil power over civil societies or civil rulers. The order and welfare of the religious society indeed demands that the civil society should be rightly and justly governed; but it does not demand that the religious ruler shall be the maker of all its laws, and the author of all its institutions.

The indirect subordination of the civil power to the religious power consists in this, that when the right of God, and the eternal welfare of human beings, demand it, the Vicar of Christ has the right, and it is his duty, to direct the civil ruler in his exercise of the power which is intrusted to him for a lesser end.

Such is the true conception of the relations of Church and State.

LIGHT ON CHILD-LIFE FROM A STRANGE QUARTER.

D. O. KELLOGG.

Lend-A-Hand, Boston, June.

THERE is a general feeling that a school for the feeble-minded must be a dismal, forbidding place; and in some respects the work done in it is depressing, and calls for a rare patience and devotion. But it is not all dark, and there are phases of it almost fascinating in interest to thoughtful persons, and exceedingly instructive as to problems of education of children in a normal state of mental vigor. Consider a moment what a teacher of an imbecile sets out to do. She—for the work is mostly done by women—has a human animal to deal with. Intelligence and conscience lie dormant in it. These she undertakes to develop from the feeblest spark up to a warmth and glow that will fit the child for association with the world. It is not the restoration of a disordered mind that she undertakes, but the building up of one where there were no previous signs, or only feeble ones. What she has to begin upon is simply a body, and if we watch her closely we shall see how intimate is the connection of physical training with soul life. Especial attraction invests the work, because in these days so much attention is directed to kindergartens, to manual training in schools, to calisthenics and gymnasia for girls, and athletic sports for boys. Were it not for Fröbel's maxim that "we learn by doing," there might still remain among us asylums, but there would be no schools, for defective-minded children.

The most recently organized school in the United States for feeble-minded children is that of Vineland, New Jersey, which was started about four years ago by the Rev. S. O. Garrison, of the Philadelphia Methodist Episcopal Conference. Mr. Garrison started on the cottage plan with two thousand dollars. His sole reliance for the future was public sympathy, for under New Jersey Law, the Legislature can appropriate no money to private charities. Under his hand the institution has acquired one hundred acres of land, seven cottages, a half-dozen outbuildings for schools and shops, and now contains one hundred and forty children with constantly increasing applications for admission. There are but few children to be seen out-of-doors for they are engaged in the school-rooms, the shops, or on the farms. Indeed one of the signs that childhood is peculiar here, is the fact that even their play is regulated for them; they are under guardianship every moment, and this not merely for the sake of discipline but because of their infirmity. A brute has instincts; a human animal has only caprices, and cannot be trusted.

A prime factor in instruction at these institutions is music.

"We could not get on without music," said one of the teachers to me: "You see when our children come to us their movements are often uncertain and grotesque. They fumble with their hands and stumble on their feet. They dart at things, they drop them. There is a want of correlation of their muscles. That is one of the first things to correct, and nothing brings the parts of the body into coördination like the rhythmic movement that goes with music."

The theory acted on is that mental weakness arises from physical defect, and the kindergarten method of songs and marches, and imitation of the smith's labors by gesture is resorted to, to bring the muscles into coördination. Hand-work is found of more educational value than books, it amuses them and inspires them to achieve something; they see the results, and acquire habits of attention and perseverance.

The great object of the training is to induce habits that will persist like instincts, and so render the need of reflection less imperative.

The work of the teacher calls for incessant vigilance, incessant ingenuity, incessant hopefulness. "We aim" said the teacher "to awaken the soul, to build mind, sir, and that was the crowning work of creation."

How much dreariness might be taken out of child-life generally by making achievement a pastime.

How often the wayward and dull child's trouble lies in its bodily condition. How invaluable is the perfection that comes from the inculcation of good habits. Such were the reflections suggested by the system of this training-school for imbeciles.

STATE PENSIONS FOR OLD AGE.

Quarterly Review, London, April to June.

THERE are four countries in Europe where a national pension scheme is either in existence, or in a fair way of becoming law. These four are Germany, Denmark, France, and Italy. Mr. Charles Booth, the editor of "Labor and Life of the People," in a paper read at a meeting of the Royal Statistical Society, on December 15, 1891, argued in favor of a universal national pension scheme in England. Mr. Chamberlain advocated such a scheme in a paper contributed in February last to the *National Review*. A few other Englishmen, not so prominent as Mr. Chamberlain, have advocated similar schemes.

The question of provision for old age is no light problem. It is difficult enough in the case of a thrifty workman earning good and constant wages. It is almost or quite impracticable where early training has been bad, and where the wages are those of unskilled labor and uncertain.

Any scheme of State-aided pensions will not appeal with hope of marked success either to the higher or the lower grades of work people. The thrifty man will usually manage, even though late in life, to secure some little competence, ere passing into the long repose; but no assistance offered to the thriftless man will change his character. He will still spend, and will be an unjust burden upon others. State-aided pensions, by diminishing stern motives to thrift, would lessen the former class, and multiply the latter.

Such schemes must treat all the aged pretty much alike; the drunken and the sober, the thriftless and the thrifty. If those whom fortune has favored have been enabled to lay by against old age, why should the unfortunate be excluded? And who is to decide to what extent a man's misfortunes in life have been due to his own negligence, and how far due to the pressure of untoward circumstances; to what extent his thriftlessness and folly have been "a cause or a consequence" of his failure in life? If "larger, other eyes than ours must make allowance for us all," dare we trust the judgment of a human life to a perfunctory government official? Supposing the unfit and unworthy to have been weeded out by some strange process, what is to be done with them? They will

always form a large proportion of the population. Let them go to the workhouse as heretofore? Then those establishments will still have to be kept up; their funds will not be available for subsidizing State pensions, and new sources of taxation will have to be imposed on an overburdened and long-suffering public.

The only forms of pensions that will render age independent in the best sense of the term, that will yield comfort and content without weakening the healthful sense of individual responsibility, which is the backbone of character, are those already in existence. They are those obtained by association in a trade-union, in friendly and kindred societies, and in industrial partnerships between employer and employed. The first are very largely developed, the second are in their infancy. Both, however, contain the vital elements of success; both are capable of vaster and more perfect development. Both are deeply rooted in individual responsibility; both teach the high and salutary law that sowing must precede reaping.

Those who would be the last to discourage the virtue of thrift, or to depreciate any sound method of investment for working people, would watch with pleasure any streak of light that comes with promises of sunshine to cheer the very laborious and very monotonous lives of our working men and women. Reasonable faith, however, lies in the development of existing institutions, rather than in the best devised and newest theories of philanthropists; in the unfettered development of all that is good in friendly societies and unions; and in the elimination of that which is unsound and dangerous. These societies are doing a great work; let them accomplish their high mission. The habits of a vast working population are not to be changed by an Act of Parliament, however well meant. Let them alone, save for the fullest protection of the law. New and better types of working people are being evolved during these pregnant years. Leave them alone, and do not bear them back to earth by causing them to become the victims of hasty and mistaken legislation.

SOCIALISM AND INDIVIDUALISM.

HENRI JOLY.

Le Correspondant, Paris, May.

THE social question would be quickly settled if people were willing to agree on the meaning of the terms "Socialism" and "Individualism." As Pascal said, however, it is the combat which pleases, and not the victory. This only is the reason for everyone giving these words the meaning which suits him at the moment when he is writing, abandoning this meaning, and modifying it, when it is thought necessary to do so. From this results a perpetual war of words. A little good sense, good faith, and good will, would suffice for everyone to comprehend and admit that every society is an *association of individuals*, and, consequently, is at once individual and social.

Those who are called *individualists* have never thought of a complete isolation of individuals, as they have been charged with thinking. Those who are called *socialists*, on the other hand, have for a long time pretended to organize society according to their conception of it, "peaceably or violently," to preserve individuals by that mental personification which they call the State. It is only since they have perceived that they can never gain their end by constraint, that they have preserved the word, but changed its meaning, and put forward Socialism in the guise of a social order, more or less peacefully established, but improving the condition of each individual. How many people, even among Christians, have been caught by these fine promises!

To put an end to the confusion, I thus define Individualism, or, if you prefer so to call it, a social state which is non-Socialist. It is a social order in which individuals, making free use of their personal resources, adjust themselves to each other in what each one makes a place for himself, while con-

necting himself with those like him by spontaneous movements on both sides. Such a state respects at the same time the liberty and dignity of the individual and his inclination to association. Everything which sacrifices one or the other of these advantages, under pretext of better strengthening the other, is a fiction. Such a definition is opposed to every species of Socialism.

This definition puts in the same category: anarchism, which wants to impose liberty on people by force, and which sacrifices sociability to individuality on the altar of the word *community*, which can have no sense in this system; and Socialism of every school which, collecting together individuals in spite of themselves, sacrifices individuality to—what? not to the natural desire of man to live in society, since a society can be naught but the result of consent, expressed or understood.

This being my definition, I am opposed to all Socialists, but especially to Christian Socialists. What good is it to encourage people to work and save and get together enough to bring up a family decently, if, as soon as they have accomplished the end to which you urge them, they are treated as monopolists and parasites?

The Roman Catholics who call on the State, be it Protestant or even atheistic, for aid, enlarge to their own detriment the powers of the State. The regulation of work, in however small a degree, under pretext of establishing a union between capital and labor, pursues a course which conducts inevitably to the complete organization of labor, consequently straight to pure Socialism.

Those who call themselves Christian Socialists seek to fortify themselves by the famous Encyclical of Leo XIII. in regard to working people. There is, however, nothing in that Encyclical to justify such a claim. The Pope declares, in the strongest terms, the right of property and of individual property, and takes the ground that the State should interpose between employer and employed as little as possible, just enough to prevent abuse of authority, and save the employed from threatening dangers. Private property is declared not only necessary, but a matter of natural right. If the duty of every man to give of his superfluity is clearly recognized, equally clear is the recognition that such a duty cannot be enforced by any method of human justice.

How different that is from Socialism in any form whatever need not be pointed out. As it is the right of property which begets the rich, the masters and those who govern, the Socialists resolutely deny that there is any right of property. When that right disappears, the rich, those who are masters and governors, will exist no more. If any Socialists have not the courage to demand openly a direct confiscation, they seek to bring it about indirectly. "Tax the rich heavily," is their cry, "let them pay for everything." How different is this from the words of the Encyclical which says: "Private property ought not to be exhausted by excessive charges and taxes."

I have reproached all forms of Socialism with dreaming of a sham and artificial equality, of disorganizations and dissolutions which are imposed by a short-sighted or tyrannical authority. Those dreams all men who believe in religion or in liberty ought to combine to oppose. Roman Catholics should recall the words of Saint Augustine "Man cannot believe save of his own free will." The Encyclical reaffirms these words in saying: "It is the custom of the Church to watch with the utmost care that no one be forced to embrace the Roman Catholic faith contrary to his wishes." Within the prohibition of this declaration is included the attempt to make men wise and economical and equal, despite their own desires. You may appeal as much as you like to the spirit of association, but it must be free association. Try to persuade people as much as you like, but dare not, at your peril, use the machinery of the State to compel people to be happy in the way you think best for them. Let there be liberty of thought and of opinion first and last and all the time.

EDUCATION, LITERATURE, ART.

THE PRESS AND THE PULPIT.

SOME NEW THOUGHTS ON A WELL-WORN THEME.

Westminster Review, London, June.

THAT the Press should now be so frequently placed in opposition and contrast to the Pulpit, and that it should be supposed that the two institutions have enough in common to justify comparisons between them, indicates a new view of the functions of the pulpit at least. Until comparatively recent years it was generally understood that people went to Church, not so much to be regaled with highly intellectual fare, as to worship God.

That this idea with all it implies is not yet extinct, is shown by the fact that laymen and even clerics, possessed of learning dialectical skill and oratorical power, will attend a church in which the regular minister is much inferior to them in all these qualifications. Those who regard the Church in this, now old-fashioned, light, may be said to consider it a place where certain ceremonies have to be performed; that it is necessary to have a master of those ceremonies—a fagelman to say the word at the proper time; but a specially trained man from whom no very high standard of intellectual power is required.

The function of the press, on the other hand, surely is to chronicle events, to discuss politics, economics, art, science, literature, philosophy, commerce, and industry, and in the doing of all this to be informing, amusing, instructive, and improving. That the pulpit should be brought into comparison with an agency whose work is of this nature, means that the critics of the pulpit as it is, desire that it should perform more of the species of the work done by the press.

A Church connection aids in the formation of a business connection, and confers many social advantages; but, although the religious sentiment is as strong as ever, the clergy, as a class, are more and more subjected to unfavorable criticism, secular gatherings are becoming more common on Sundays, and comparisons are more frequently drawn between the pulpit and the press.

All this has doubtless to be attributed in large part to the decay of religious belief, but the decay of religious belief has to be attributed very largely to the failings and shortcomings of the pulpit. So long as literature was an expensive luxury, and the great body of the people were absolutely unable to read, or had no taste or time for reading, it was not remarkable that they should put up with a low standard of pulpit eloquence. But in these days of half-penny papers and six-penny magazines, the humblest church-goer may, and often does, have a better idea of what a sermon ought to be than even well-to-do people had fifty years ago. For the masses not only have their judgment and taste cultivated by reading, but they attend the lecture-room and the theatre as well as the Church; and accustomed, as they are, to hear accomplished actors and brilliant platform lecturers, they are coming to expect from the pulpit, entertainment and instruction as well as exhortation. The pulpit does not come up to the standard of excellence achieved by the press, the platform, the stage, hence it is that it is being criticised and neglected.

It must be borne in mind that, while the professional journalist has to devote his undivided attention to journalism, the professional preacher has to baptize, marry, and bury; has to visit and gossip with the members of his flock; has to take part in mission work and the business procedure of his church; has to serve in church courts, attend sick-beds, and take a share in the work of running charities. Clergymen are called on, too, for numerous social engagements, and do not deem themselves under the same obligation as other professional men to devote unremitting attention to their work; and, although it can hardly be said that their work is hard, the

many calls upon their attention are often pleaded as an excuse for doing that work in a makeshift manner.

Something might perhaps be achieved by the application to the ministry of those commercial principles which keep the members of other professions up to the mark, but unfortunately the clergy are largely drawn from the class of "good young men," a class not remarkable for physical or mental vigor.

This want of robustness does much to lower the quality of pulpit work, and to lessen the influence of the Church. As concerns the great questions of the day, you cannot say on which side they are. They are afraid to show their colors. Assuming the rôle of Mr. Facing-both-ways, they sit on the fence and pray that peace may be restored between the opposing factions, but not a word is said as to the issues over which the conflict is waged.

The fact is the Church is behind the times. The discussion of political, social, and economic questions is in most churches reckoned contraband. In influence for civilization and enlightenment, the press, with all its faults, leaves the pulpit hopelessly, helplessly, and ignominiously in the shade.

THE LITERARY INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES.

BRANDER MATTHEWS.

Cosmopolitan, New York, July.

CONGRESS unwittingly encouraged the colonial attitude of literature in the United States by refusing to pass an International Copyright Bill and thus secure to the British author the control of his own works. It permitted the foreigner to be plundered, and forced the native author to sell his wares in competition with stolen goods. Sir Henry Sumner Maine declared in his work on *Popular Government*, that the neglect to give copyright to foreign writers has condemned the whole American community to a literary servitude unparalleled in the history of thought."

Cooper's first novel, *Precaution*, professed to be by an English author, and was received on that theory without suspicion. Fortunately it is now wholly forgotten; for its characters, its scenery, its conventional phrases were all English. Mr. Lodge tersely sums up the situation thus:

The first step of an American entering upon a literary career was to pretend to be an Englishman in order that he might win the approval, not of Englishmen, but of his own countrymen.

Cooper was too good an American to be content with the cast-off garments of British novelists; and in 1821, a year after the appearance of *Precaution*, he published *The Spy*, and never afterwards was there need for an American novelist to masquerade as an Englishman. Yet his fellow-countrymen thought to compliment Cooper by calling him the "American Scott."

After Cooper came Hawthorne and Poe, both intensely American, although in different fashion. In due season, Mrs. Stowe brought out one book which set forth fearlessly a situation undeniably (and most unfortunately) American. Then came the war, which stiffened our national consciousness. Among later story-tellers who study American life as it is, and without any taint of Britishness, are the author of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, the author of *The Rise of Silas Lapham*, the author of *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*, and the author of *Old Creole Days*, all aggressively American, all devoid of the slightest suggestion of colonialism, all possessing a wholesome mistrust of British traditions, standards, and methods. American authors are now writing for their fellow-countrymen and about their fellow-countrymen.

During the closing days of our long struggle for the Copyright Act of 1891, it became evident in London that British

authors believed that unbounded affluence was about to burst upon them.

The result of the Copyright Act has necessarily been a decrease in the number of books of British authorship sold in the United States. As soon as there was only one authorized publisher engaged in pushing a British book in America, in place of a dozen unauthorized publishers forced to a frantic and cutthroat competition, the British book had, without the aid of any premium of cheapness, to sell on its merits alone. As soon as all books had to be paid for by the publisher, the book of native authorship had its natural preference; and now the inferior and doubtful books of foreign authorship are ceasing to be reprinted here.

The decrease in the proportion of British books published in America, sharply accelerated, no doubt, by the Copyright Act of 1891, has been going on ever since Cooper published *The Spy*, now more than seventy years ago. In the year 1861 Messrs. Harper & Brothers published 24 books, of which 14 were of British authorship, 7 of American authorship, and 3 were translations. In 1871 they published 57 books; 36 British, 20 American, and 1 translated. In 1881 they published 98 books; 66 British (including some 47 numbers of the Franklin Square Library), 26 American, and 6 translated. In 1891 they issued 76 books: 27 British, 41 American, and 1 translated.

In 1871, James R. Osgood & Co. published at least 28 books by American authors, 10 by British authors, and 3 translated. In 1881 (the firm having become Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.), they published 38 books by Americans, 7 by British authors, and 11 volumes of translations. In 1891 this firm published 69 books by Americans, 7 by British authors; and 2 translations. From the publications of both the foregoing houses I have excluded all the classic authors of our language, all new editions, and all text-books and school-books.

At the same time that the American author has been taking possession of his own country, he has also been conquering abroad. More and more American books are every year reprinted in Great Britain, or exported for sale in London in editions of satisfactory size.

The reputation of American authors has been spread in England largely by the agency of the great American illustrated magazines, which have an enormous transatlantic circulation. There are at least two American magazines which far outsell in England any British magazine of corresponding pretensions.

THE KALEVALA.

O. G.

Finsk Tidskrift, Helsingfors, May.

THAT the Kalevala, Finland's national poem is a homogeneous whole is due to Elias Lönnrot. It was he who gathered this rich poetry directly from the mouth of the people. It is due to his efforts that we now possess a poem equal to the national epics of the Hindus, Greeks, and the *Nibelungenlied*. But in placing the disjointed members together he did only as national poets have done before; he did not add any of his own. Tact, poetic genius, and intuitive understanding of the people's spirit were his guides.

The procedure of Lönnrot has had the result that many of the Runes of the poems do not run exactly as they do to-day among the people. Of several versions, he always chose the best as a foundation, and used the others to elaborate it with. Reading the Kalevala, one can form no idea of how the songs sounded in the different localities, for the various versions often represented several stages of development. In some places Lönnrot has taken several Runes out and placed them elsewhere for the sake of greater æsthetic effect. His emendations can be studied in his revised edition, 1849, in which he has even altered metres and the language. A full review of his principles of criticism can be found in J. Krohn's *Kalevalan*

toissinnot, Helsingfors, 1888, and several articles in *Finsk Tidskrift*. Desirable as it may be from some points of view to have the Kalevala a homogeneous whole, it is unsatisfactory to modern science. We want to know how every Rune stood as first written. How much belongs to the people, and how much to Lönnrot? From what localities did the Runes come? Were they sung over a large district or only in a particular spot? Where did the longer and more complete forms come from, and where the shorter? Was the Rune sung first there where it was written down by Lönnrot, or has it migrated? What is known about the poets? Where did they come from; what dialect did they speak; were they professionals or not? Are all details reliable ethnologically, psychologically, philologically, historically, etc.?

A close study of the variations has become a necessity, but has hitherto been an impossibility. Since the time Lönnrot deposited his original notes with the Finnish Library Society, they have lain stored away both unarranged and unclassified. Since Lönnrot in 1874 gave all his notes, etc., to the society, steps have been taken to copy them all and protect them against fire, and to publish them. The copying created desires for new collections. It was found desirable to complete some Runes and to settle their true value. To that end the society organized expeditions to several provinces, and soon added largely to its collections, particularly by purchases from A. Borenus, K. Krohn, and A. Neovius. In 1884 the society started to print. Its programme was as follows: All cycles of song and the individual singer's local emendations were to be put together in as comprehensible a form as possible; and everything, even the apparently insignificant fragments, to be printed. In reproducing the MSS., the greatest possible exactness and completeness was to be insisted on; all information about the origin of the songs and their localities and authors was to be printed. The editorial work was in charge of Julius Krohn and A. A. Borenus, and was to be carried out on the plan of a complete notation of what was thought to be the original text, what the latest singers' additions, and what the editor's notes. But insurmountable obstacles came in the way. Not till 1888 was the first volume published, and soon after, J. Krohn died, which for the time being put an end to the whole undertaking. The published part is of greatest interest; its notes about the singers, their birth-places, lives, and means of subsistence, etc., etc., are of much value. By means of these studies we can enter upon researches relating to the primitive Finnish people in the same way as we can look into the family secrets of the early Aryans who originated the songs of the Vedas.

The work must be continued and finished. It is of the greatest consequence for all culture and civilization.

TRUE PERSONALITY IN ART.

PAUL GSELL.

Revue Bleue, Paris, June.

HOW many manufacturers of works of art show their productions at this year's Exhibition at the Salon, and how few artists! Even the chiefs of our school of painting have done naught but mutter over their pictures the formulas of incantation which have already drawn astonishment from the crowd and much money from the Americans, instead of opening their soul to us. This is a sad thing which will obscure, sooner or later, some false reputations which are brilliant to-day, while honor ought to be given to the sincere alone.

There are two methods of understanding art. One is to study the taste of the public in order to prepare for it the dishes it prefers. The other is to satisfy one's self in order that the spectator may appreciate our truth.

In the first method, sincere emotion is quite useless; it will give no pleasure to that large portion of the public which talks about art in omnibus offices, to use a well-known saying.

What this part of the public wants first of all is the unex-

pected, that is, novelty. Of this kind of thing the sculptures of Mr. Gérôme afford an excellent example. Look at his *Bellona*; an attempt at chryselephantine statuary, with glass eyes and flesh of ivory. I get from it an impression that the maker of the statue is saying to me in his studio, with a plainly apparent air of satisfaction: "I made six pair of those eyes, before I got a good pair!" and also exclaiming, as he touches now the face and now the arms of the figure: "It's curious, isn't it?" While Mr. Gérôme has passed some months in amusing himself with his *Bellona*, he interests the public for about five minutes. If he exhibits painted sculpture next year, he will get even less attention, and ten years from now he will have none at all. Thus it is that the unexpected cannot found a durable reputation in art.

It will be said, however, that we have Mr. Detaille and other favorites of the general public, which is attracted by their dramatic scenes. It is easy to believe Mr. Detaille a favorite, for people crowd together before his "Siege of Hünningen," just as they crowd together in the street when some regiments are passing by. A body of soldiers on the march is a fine sight! Moreover, we are patriots, and hold in high esteem the commander who, with 200 men holds his own against 30,000 enemies. For the moment, I say nothing about the painting. I am speaking of the subject only, and that suffices to captivate us. It cannot be denied that such subjects are very interesting; but what can be said of the artistic impression they make? Is there not too much stage scenery and furniture and very little truth? The drama! What a misfortune to have to condemn this adulterated product of a fabrication which is so French: for it is the exaggeration of our principal quality, namely, movement, true force. A bad drama often pleases us, and gives the illusion of a masterpiece. "Nevertheless," has said Mr. Henner, "these large compositions, in which the painter, too much occupied in emphasizing his subject, loses sight of reality, are not worth a single figure, even a small one, for the purpose of bringing out just and beautiful movement." Although Mr. Henner preaches in order to recommend something in which he excels, he is right.

There are painters who care only to amuse, to astonish. Such an object injures art, which is also damaged by the mania among painters for confining themselves to one special class of pictures. The last fault springs from the desire of pleasing the public and selling at a good price. In fact, those who buy pictures do not seek in a work for the expression of a thought. They consider the picture a piece of furniture. What they care for, when they want pictures, is to have for a dining-room flowers, fruits, plates and dishes; for a bedroom or a boudoir, witty scenes or pleasant nudes; for a drawing-room, portraits and moral landscapes; for a gallery, historic or prehistoric fantasies, visions of statues which dance; and so on. According as a painter, by the subjects which he treats, supplies more or less these demands for furniture, he creates a specialty just like a commercial establishment. By ceasing to produce his specialties he greatly damages his pocket.

These remarks need not displease the critics. Their eulogies, lavished on pictures painted on the same principles, can be repeated year after year, while it would cost them too much trouble to reach for what is truly original in each work, that is, the man who has treated it, and the conscience he displays in it. Works not signed leave, as it were, a bad taste in the mouth. The subject, however, is a signature in a bold hand. When a painter has drawn attention by some particular kind of subject, he has to stick to it. If he makes a change, his critics have to discover him again as when he made his *début*; and they are not always in the humor to declare him a master. Thus it is that everlastingly Mr. Detaille paints soldiers, Mr. Cormon cannibals, Mr. Bonnat black frock-coats, and Jules Breton country people in noble attitudes.

Here we have at the *Salon* the portrait of Renan by Mr. Bonnat. This artist has a special method of treating official

portraits, for which he receives orders. He represents every illustrious man with the expression which the popular imagination attributes to him. The innermost character is of little consequence. Each of his portraits seems to wear a mask, conforming to the idea generally held of the part they play in society. Mr. Ferry was a cunning politician, and his eyes are hidden under an overhanging forehead. Mr. Pasteur is a great *savant*, who, with his hand in his frock-coat, directs towards an invisible sphinx a look as sharp as steel. Mr. Renan is a skeptical philosopher, and here we have him with both hands on his knees, wearing a cynical air. Yet, frankly, is this the physiognomy of a man of such fine art?

This year we have to class Mr. Jules Breton among routine painters. Alas! his "June" is altogether conventional. His object was to show the eternal moral grandeur to be found among simple country people, and, perhaps, it may be generally thought already that his ideas on that point do not correspond to the reality. However that may be, he has shown us in some admirable works fine characters in free and expressive attitudes. In the picture now in the *Salon*, there is naught but a woman leaning on a rake, clothed in coarse cottonade, a bad imitation of the Greek. The figure is only a model, which is just about as effective as a torso.

Artists should remember that when they cater solely to public taste, they may be sure of not living long, for the gallery to which they address themselves is quickly changed. It would be easy to give examples of a hundred painters, who, ministering only to the whims of a particular period, have, after being for a time in fashion, ceased to be attractive; from the Italian Guidos and Guercinos to the stars of the First Empire and Mr. Bougereau, whose adherents grow fewer and fewer every day.

EARLY MUTILATORS OF SHAKESPEARE.

PROFESSOR WILLIAM H. HUDSON.

Poet-Lore, Boston, June-July.

A GREAT change had come over the English theatre after the restoration. A generation of new dramatists had sprung up, having little in common, either morally or artistically, with "the mighty race before the flood." But the palm of popularity was given to the two writers, Beaumont and Fletcher, who partook most fully of the character of the age, and Shakespeare was condemned to oblivion as a writer of barbarous taste, totally wanting in literary art; strong, perhaps, but uncultivated; original, but without judgment.

Even in that age, literary recognition of Shakespeare was not altogether lacking. To Dryden, for instance, we owe the splendid panegyric, which Johnson said might "stand as a perpetual model of encomiastick criticism," and the scarcely less splendid tribute contained in the prologue to the revised "Tempest." But Dryden undoubtedly represented the most favorable side of contemporary Shakespearian criticism, as the least favorable side was exhibited by Thomas Rymer, who stigmatises "Othello" as a "senseless, trifling tale," and charges Shakespeare with "unhallowing the theatre, profaning the name of tragedy, and, instead of representing men and manners, turning all morality, good sense, and humanity into mockery and derision." Moreover, we have the writings of Gildon and Dennis at hand to show that Rymer's contempt for Shakespeare was shared by many of his contemporaries.

The disrepute into which Shakespeare had fallen upon the stage, however, is not shown so much in the rarity of the performances of his plays, as in the treatment which they received when they were performed. Almost immediately after the theatres were reopened, there came into vogue the vicious habit of adapting Shakespeare for stage representation.

The individual distinctiveness of his characters, the interest of his situations, the possibilities furnished by his plots for the stage mechanism and scenic effects, which had then lately come into use—all these advantages were not overlooked by some

who had undertaken to cater for the public amusement. In these it seemed that the groundwork of some most successful plays was to be found in Shakespeare's works. All that was wanted was to prune away the wild excrescences of the author's untaught genius; to aid the plot by the literary art to which he had been a stranger; to refine the language, modify the characters, and generally manipulate the text in such a way as to make the piece acceptable to the more educated taste of the time. Poets and critics were to be found in plenty who, though their own "fiddle-fiddle numbers" might flow, "serenely dull, elaborately low" nevertheless felt themselves able to improve upon Shakespeare's language, remove his faults, and develop his germinal excellencies. Thus a new field was opened, and Shakespeare, modified, improved, and adapted, began a fresh career upon the stage. Even Dryden, influenced by the spirit of the age, joined Davenant in a determined attempt to turn Shakespeare into nonsense by collaborating a magnificent destruction of "The Tempest."

Davenant, who had inaugurated the system in 1662 by his *pasticcio*, "The Law against Lovers," constructed out of "Measure for Measure," and "Much Ado about Nothing" further debased Macbeth into a kind of spectacle, sadly mauling the play, both as to language and plot. In 1678 "Timon of Athens" was "made into a play" as he himself phrased it, by Shadwell; a year afterward Dryden revised "Troilus and Cressida," then Otway using about half of "Romeo and Juliet" produced his "History and Fall of Caius Marius." This latter play was also turned into a tragi-comedy by James Howard; and so, one by one, nearly all the great masterpieces of the greatest dramatist the world has ever seen, were mangled and marred by men who could understand nothing of his power, and were totally out of sympathy with his genius. This kind of thing went on until 1741 when Garrick appeared, and a new chapter began in the history of Shakespearian stage-representation. Not that Garrick entirely broke away from the traditions of his predecessors. In many respects he was as great a sinner as any of them. Many of the plays he produced—including "Hamlet" which had been left untouched by former adapters—were maltreated by him in the most reprehensible fashion; but none the less, with Garrick opens a new era in dramatic history,—an era which was, as time went on, to see a revived literary interest in the great master's works, and on the whole, a more intelligent treatment of them upon the stage.

BALZAC.—In one sense Balzac may almost be said to have created the intelligent France of to-day, as he also depicted the France of the past. France to-day approaches nearer and nearer to the types he has exhibited, along the very paths he prefigured. And who has judged Catherine de Medicis, Napoleon, the Revolution, as he has judged them? Balzac is pre-eminently a moralist—the greatest moralist of the century. He does not expound his principles, but he depicts them in action, and shows all their consequences. It is constantly said that women are the keystone to Balzac's work. This is perfectly true; they are the keystone to the world's work, to its achievements of excellence and of crime. Very early in life, probably not later than his twenty-third year, 1822, he met the woman-angel for whom he longed, and who thenceforth inspired his life until some great catastrophe overtook their love. All traces of her name and personality are lost, no doubt destroyed. In the midst of the heavy troubles of mind and circumstance which beset his earlier years, Balzac found true friends among women of distinction of mind and character. One of the earliest and most faithful of these was Madame de Berny, the confidant of his early love and sorrow. We can judge of his affection for her from the character of Madame de Mortsauf, in *Le Lys dans la Vallée*. This, he says, "is but a pale expression of her noble qualities. It is but a distant reflection of her, for I have a horror of prostituting my own emotions, and the world will never know the sorrows that overcame me." Madame Carraud, his sister, Madame de Surville, Madame Hanska (whom he afterwards married), were true friends to him. His writings bear the marks of such intimacies.—*Overland Monthly*, San Francisco, July.

SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY.

PHYSIOLOGY AND THE PREVENTION OF DISEASE.

DR. J. M. RICE.

Popular Science Monthly, New York, July.

THAT disease is far more prevalent than our knowledge of prevention justifies can hardly be doubted. An inquiry into the cause of this evil as well as into the manner in which it can be removed is therefore, in my opinion, not inopportune.

With few exceptions, that which is at present done for the prevention of disease is limited to improving sanitary conditions. This leaves out of consideration two very important factors. Firstly, that many diseases are due to internal conditions, traceable to imperfect development and improper modes of living; secondly, that the healthy body offers a certain amount of resistance to disease. Unless, therefore, our efforts be extended to the prevention of diseases arising from internal causes, as well as to increasing the powers of resistance, they must to a considerable extent remain inefficient.

These two elements are so intimately connected that they are furthered by the same measures.

Although the conditions upon which the power of resistance depends are for the most part obscure, physicians agree that, other things being equal, the resistance diminishes as the vitality is lowered. The important point is, therefore, to maintain good health, and to this end, the *normal functional activity of all the organs* is essential.

But where shall we look for guidance if we desire to learn how normal functional activity can be attained? Naturally to the science which treats of bodily functions, *physiology*; and we shall see in a moment that by the application of physiological principles, not only will the organs be temporarily aided in the performance of their functions, but, if continued, that good physical development, upon which permanent health depends, will be secured. Physiology is, no less than bacteriology, a science of prevention, but in our eagerness to catch and exterminate germs it has been kept in the background.

An organ performs its functions in proportion to its strength: it is, then, of first importance that the organs be well developed.

But good physical development is the result of adequate nourishment of all parts of the body, and such nourishment depends upon the proper performance of all the functions. That this does not lead us into an absurdity becomes evident when we consider that imperfectly developed organs may, *with assistance*, perform their functions efficiently, and physiology points out how this aid can be given. *In consequence of this help*, therefore, the organs develop and perform their functions properly with ever less assistance, and the condition of perfect health is gradually approached.

As to the means of assisting the organs in their labor none is so powerful as muscular exercise. This agent not only plays an important part in the general nutrition of the system, having a favorable effect upon all the functions of digestion, absorption, assimilation, circulation, and oxidation; but, by its direct effect upon the muscular system, is the means, not only of developing an active as well as a strong and healthy body, but likewise of storing up a large quantity of reserve force.

But in order that muscular exercise may result in good physical development, *it must be carried on systematically for a long period*, and especially during the years of childhood. The *nature* of the exercise plays by no means an unimportant part in its efficacy. In order that all parts of the muscular system may be brought into play, gymnastics and calisthenics are indispensable. These exercises should, however, be supplemented by outdoor sports, such as games, rowing, swimming, skating, etc., firstly, for the exhilaration they produce; and, secondly, for the inestimable benefit of the pure air.

The only way for placing good physical development within

the reach of all children, is by the introduction of an *effective system of physical exercise into schools*, for in the vast majority of cases, systematic work, during the greater part of childhood, outside of these institutions, is out of the question.

But although muscular exercise be carried to perfection, and the surrounding conditions leave nothing to be desired, health is not assured; for should the *expenditure of energy* be too great, there will still be marked interference with development.

The energy is expended by the organs in the performance of their functions, and the amount of energy which can be developed in a given space of time, is limited to the quantity of food digestible during this period, and if it be expended more rapidly than it is thus supplied, the functions are performed at the expense of the tissues. If, therefore, we desire to guard the system against waste, we must limit functional activity, both muscular and mental. But as there is ample compensation for the energy expended in muscular activity, while there is none, in the physical sense, for that used in mental action, it is most important to exercise control over mental labor, which must be regulated both quantitatively and qualitatively.

The number of school hours must not be excessive, and introduction into school-life should be gradual. In Germany, the children begin with about sixteen hours a week, and to this two hours a week are added every year until the maximum of twenty-six or twenty-eight hours a week is reached.

From the qualitative point of view, the methods of instruction play an important part. When the laws of psychology are observed, the channels of least resistance are used, and the greatest amount of labor performed with a given amount of energy.

As long and as far as these matters are neglected, mere sanitary measures will fail to check the general prevalence of disease.

CALORIC AS A CAUSE OF EPIDEMICS.

L. MANN.

Der Stein der Weisen, Vienna, June.

I.

“**M**ODERATION in all things” as expressed by the well-worn moral axiom of antiquity, *Μῆδερ ἄγαν*, might serve as a foundation stone for the healing art. But nowhere is the importance of moderation more conspicuous than in connection with our newly advanced theory, that the healthy maintenance and development of living organisms depends primarily on a due adjustment of caloric and vital fluids to the capacity of all their vessels and organs.

The overstepping of certain limits of temperature, or a sudden change in capacity, or caloric contents, causes disturbances in the circulation, and in the functions of the vital fluids, which may be verified in the several phenomena of disease. And since, on the appearance of both endemic and epidemic diseases, the electric conditions, both tellurian and atmospheric, work together, and are hence most observable, we will endeavor to explain their origin and course in harmony with our theory.

We have no wish to engage in any polemical discussion with the members of the prevailing school; on the contrary, our aim is simply to point out the bearing of the new theory on recent well-known epidemics, trusting to the logic of facts for a justification. At any rate, all who are familiar with our explanation of the nature of electricity, will be convinced that all hope of penetrating the secret of the vital processes will be vain, as long as the permanent pressure of the ether, and the presence of a peculiar caloric in lightning and electric sparks shall be ignored.

Our Earth is unquestionably to be regarded as a powerful electric accumulator. We draw caloric from it as from a reservoir by connecting the electric machine with conducting earth strata. In volcanoes, in fire-balls, in lightning, and in the

Northern lights we see the direct expression and absorption of the fire-fluid whose constant, invisible movement is evidenced by the operation of the magnetic needle and telegraph wire, and no less so by the several appearances of influenza.

The earth is subject to considerable variation of local electrical conditions. The prime regulator of the movement of caloric in and on our revolving ball is the sun, but it is in respect to the method of its operation that we are at variance with the exponents of the current prevailing theory.

It is true that the sun diffuses caloric by means of protuberances, flames, and rays, distributing the substance to immense distances, and even influencing the earth; the movement of the ether due to the sun can also set corporeal atoms in motion; but the prime operation of the sun's rays or ether waves consists nevertheless in *attracting and absorbing the fire-fluid from the earth* and from all its products.

Everyone will remember the celebrated experiments of Prof. Hertz, which showed that any temporary diminution of ethereal pressure on the fire-fluid of the earth, resulted in an outburst of electric sparks. Recognizing then, that in the course of the centuries the nerves and vessels of organic beings must have acquired fire-canal-systems analogous to those of the earth's crust, we see at a glance the entire interdependence between the periodically varying radiation of the sun, and consequent variation of ethereal pressure, with the movement and changes of level of the earth-chained fire-fluid, as exhibited in the direction and force of the earth currents, in tellurian and atmospheric phenomena in their influence on climate and vegetation, and especially in the sanitary condition of the inhabitants of the regions influenced. That locally prevalent diseases are primarily and mainly due to local abnormal electrical conditions, is demonstrated by long continued observations of the appearance, spread, and disappearance of great epidemics. No one disease is ever universal over all the earth at one time. Diverse diseases may prevail at the same time in diverse regions, but never in the same region. Epidemics do not spread along the great lines of traffic, but pursue prescribed directions conforming generally to the direction of the earth currents, from east to west. On reaching a new geological region, or a river valley, or the sea coast, the epidemic rages in directions lateral to its course, precisely as an electric current diverges when its stream is dammed. Distant coasts and islands are reached at a bound, and even ships are sometimes assailed when crossing its line of march. Epidemics ordinarily originate and disappear with equal suddenness, and generally with sharp changes of the weather. Lastly we have the frequent reappearance of the same endemic over well-defined regions along with the immunity of numerous places in close intercourse with the affected regions.

On the above theory of the origin of epidemics in abnormal electrical conditions, it is clear that a sharp distinction must be drawn between those diseases which originate in an excess and those which originate in a deficiency of caloric.

MENTAL EXHAUSTION IN PEOPLE OF GENIUS.

DR. CESARE LOMBROSO.

La Nouvelle Revue, Paris, June.

THE case of Guy de Maupassant has called forth a sort of inquest upon the theory, first enunciated by Aristotle and afterwards advocated by Diderot, Taine, d'Alembert, Leuret, Lelut, and Moreau de Tours, of the frequency of degenerative disease of the nerves in men of genius.

Those who never see the limits of a truth when it is too lofty or too profound, and are contented with grazing its surface, if somehow they perceive it, pretend that all the pathological phenomena of genius: morbid sensitiveness, awkwardness, impulsiveness, epilepsy, are phenomena of exhaustion, of lassitude.

Those who thus affirm, however, have not reflected that

geniuses are, to speak exactly, thinking machines of a superior power. In fact, many geniuses have enormous brains—Cuvier, Byron, Schiller, for example—which work with wonderful facility.

Rossini composed an opera in one day. Montesquieu made the first draft of the "*Esprit des Lois*" during a carriage drive. Voltaire conceived one of the most beautiful parts of the "*Henriade*" while asleep. Newton and Cardano solved mathematical problems in their dreams. Such organisms produce in one hour more than others produce in a month or even in a year. All their manifestations—oversensitiveness, rapidity of perception, extraordinary penetration of mind—are manifestations of excess of power and not of exhaustion.

It is so true that the pathological phenomena of genius are not the result of fatigue, that many times—as in the cases of Molière, Alfieri, and Cardano, for example—these phenomena have preceded the production of their works.

Cardano had hallucinations at the age of six, while his genius developed very much later. Hatred for his country revealed itself in Leopardi at the age of puberty. Rousseau, when a child, was naught but a thief with a mind diseased in regard to sexual matters. Vico became a genius as the result of a fracture of the skull.

Epilepsy and a neurotic and crazy nature, which are so common among men of genius, so far from being caused by exhaustion, are part of the inspiration of the work most congenial to them. Thus often in studying men of genius, it is uncertain whether madness dominates the genius or the genius dominates the madness.

To understand my point thoroughly, it will suffice to study with entire impartiality the works of Dostoevski, of Ibsen, as also some of those of Shakespeare, and the paintings of Wiertz; more especially the "*Thoughts of a Head Cut Off*" and the "*Cyclops Polyphemus*," which are considered masterpieces, and may yet very well be thought the work of a crazy man.

It must be borne in mind that the phenomena of which I have just spoken are never manifested in men simply learned, who, contrary to men of genius, work much materially and produce far less.

I have never observed in Magliabecchi, in Cavedoni, in those who devote themselves to deciphering inscriptions, in systematic naturalists passing their days in the dust of libraries and museums, diseases of the nerves like those indisputably proved to have been exhibited by geniuses, many of which latter, like Shakespeare, Burns, Byron, and others, have engendered their extraordinary works, without hardly having studied at all, and consequently without its having been possible to fatigue their intellectual faculties.

Moreover, we find among true geniuses a characteristic quite the opposite of exhaustion: longevity. I have verified this in 134 cases out of 143. Michael Angelo and Petrarch lived to the age of 90. Hobbes was 92 when he died; Titian 99; Voltaire, Talleyrand 84; Newton and Carafa 85.

Besides, if the idea of degenerative neurosis being the basis of genius is at first repulsive to him who sees closely allied two things, one of which constitutes the greatness of human nature and the other its decay, this idea ceases to be repulsive when you reflect that degeneracy, in the meaning given to it by psychology and also by modern zoology, is very far from the vulgar acceptance of the word.

This degeneracy, instead of excluding the idea of ennobling or elevating, often implies such an idea. Monkeys and quadrupeds possess an entire organ—the tail and some muscles—which we have lost by acquiring in exchange our intellectual superiority.

Giants in stature pay the penalty of their height in the sterility and weakness of their intellect; and even giants in mind pay, by degeneracy and mental disease, a penalty for the great power of their genius.

Be it understood that I do not deny that exhaustion is met

with among geniuses; but the phenomena of exhaustion are the exception with them, and different from the phenomena of general neurosis.

Exhaustion is manifested in men of genius by phenomena very different from those which manifest exhaustion of mind in ordinary people, and appears in the decline of their life and intelligence. They are, in fact, stricken with sterility and very frequently with mania, with baldness and premature grayness; with apoplexy and general paralysis.

During their creative period, also, exhaustion is shown by moments of lassitude, during which eminent men perceive that they are unequal to the comprehension of the conceptions of their intellect.

Thus Klopstock, when asked about the meaning of some of his verses, answered: "At first, God and I both understood those verses; now God alone understands them." The same thing happened to Tasso, who many times was unable to explain the meaning of his verses.

In their old age men of genius produce things absolutely inferior, and then the proof of exhaustion is evident. This Goethe showed in the Second Part of *Faust*; Manzoni in the "*Histoire de la Révolution*"; Silvio Pellico in his "*Dei Doveri degli Uomini*."

Still further, men of genius exaggerate, even to suicide, those tendencies to pessimism which formed one of the sources of their genius. In the statistics of suicide in Italy, men of letters represent a proportion of 619 out of 1,000,000, while among street porters the proportion is only 36, and among working people only 80 out of 1,000,000.

HOW LARGE IS THE UNIVERSE?

Nordstjernen, Copenhagen, June.

TO form some idea of the largeness of this earth, one may look upon the landscape from the top of an ordinary church-steeple, and then bear in mind that one must view 900,000 similar landscapes to get an approximately correct idea of the size of the earth. Place 500 earths, like ours, side by side, yet Saturn's outermost ring could easily enclose them. Three hundred thousand earth-globes could be stored inside of the Sun, if hollow. If a human eye every hour were capable of looking upon a fresh measure of world-material 14,000 square kilometres large, that eye would need 55,000 years to overlook the surface of the Sun. To reach the nearest fixed star one must travel 33,000,000,000 of kilometres, and if the velocity were equal to that of a cannon-ball, it would require five millions of years to travel the distance.

On a clear night an ordinary human eye can discover about 1,000 stars in the northern hemisphere, most of which send their light from distances which we cannot measure. How large they must be! Round these 1,000 stars circle 50,000 other stars of various sizes. Beside single stars, we know of systems of stars moving round one another. Still, we are but a short way into space as yet! Outside our limits of vision and imagination there are, no doubt, still larger spaces.

The Milky Way holds probably at least 20,191,000 stars, and as each is a sun, we presume it is encircled by at least 50 planets. Counting up these figures, we arrive at the magnitude of 1,000,955,000 stars. A thousand millions of stars! Who can comprehend it? Still this is only a part of the universe. The modern telescopes have discovered more and similar milky ways still further away. We know of some 3,000 nebulae which represent milky ways like ours. Let us count 2,000 of them as being of the size of our Milky Way, then $2,000 \times 20,191,000 = 40,382,000,000$ suns, or 2,019,100,000,000 heavenly bodies. Suppose these bodies parading before our mental eye, one per minute, it would require 3,840,000 years to finish the march, in all of which time, we would have to look upon them unceasingly. Suppose a human being migrating from globe to globe

and spending 50 years on each, he would require 100,955,000,000,000 years for the round. If he stayed only one hour, he would save much time, but still need 230,400,000 years for the task. Yet, these nebulae are only a part of the universe! Outside the nebula limits we know of other nebulae not resolvable into stars. They appear to be primitive nebulae, pure, *unused* world-stuff—matter for new creations. Some of them occupy a space as large as the orbit of Uranus. Some are still larger. The one in "Orion" is estimated to be 2,200,000,000,000,000,000 times larger than our sun. Are we come to the outermost limits? Who dares say yes? We are probably come to *our* limits. But the future, with new instruments and scientific devices may push those limits so much further out into space.

RELIGIOUS.

MORALITY: WHAT IS BETTER?

AMORY H. BRADFORD, D.D.

Andover Review, Boston, June.

THERE is an evident desire in some quarters to find a basis of moral action other than religion supplies, and the question I propose to discuss here is: Is the practice of moral duties, or righteousness, regarded as apart from, and not based upon, vital religious principle, the best that can be offered to those who in the storm and stress of life, are seeking some thing to satisfy and inspire? Leaving both theology and philosophy it will be my propose to present as fairly and distinctly as I may, certain reasons for believing that morality is not the best that can be offered to those who in these days are crying as bitterly as ever: Who will show us any good?

1. Standards of right and wrong have always been associated with the idea of a personal God, and have been clear or dim according to the vividness and purity of that idea. As the conception of that higher personality has risen, the standard of moral obligation has risen, and as the idea has fallen, the standard of morality has fallen. If you find a people without faith in Deity, you also find an absence of regulative ideas of right and wrong. Those who have banished God from their universe, even though they may have attained high intellectual and physical culture, seldom hold with a strong grasp those ethical principles which the race has recognized as of universal obligation. Eccentricities of genius are offered as excuses for sensual excesses; truth becomes a matter of expediency; chastity is adjusted to physical well-being, and the obligations of brotherhood almost cease to be recognized. A man with no God, whether he is a savage or a nineteenth-century philosopher, recognizes no obligations except those which will best promote his pleasure or probable well-being; but he who believes in God, and believes in Him as holy, inevitably realizes that he should be holy as God is holy. It is commonplace to say that all men are moulded by their ideals. If there is no ideal higher than self, then self becomes the end. If, on the other hand, the ideal is infinite and perfect, then the one holding it is gradually transformed into that likeness. If now we turn to the question: Is there anything better than doing right without thought of God? the reply must be, A man's thought of God is always highest and regulative; if he has no Deity, he has no lofty morality, or if he has, it will be for selfish reasons, and may be changed at any moment for something unworthy, since there is no one higher than self who can command obedience. The answer must be, therefore, that religion which supposes a relation between God and man, is better than the attempt to do right without the recognition of God. If it be said that the result of each moral act is increased light, and that the world's belief concerning the Almighty is the result of virtuous conduct, the reply is: The result of doing right is always larger and clearer illumination; but one question is, Which is the controlling idea? The answer is:

Since there can be no faith in God without His being recognized as superior and worthy of homage, the belief concerning Him must regulate all other beliefs, and influence all actions. Therefore, since standards of faith rise with ideals of God, moral conduct can attain its finest fruit only when it is rooted in the recognition of God.

2. Morality in itself fails to furnish sufficient motive for doing right. Now and then a few are found who can honestly say that they do right because it is right, and want no other motive. Theoretically the answer is perfect, but practically it is insufficient; it may be good for the elect, but it is useless for the average man. Furthermore, I believe that the motive always fails. If there is a worthy motive we will not flinch, but will face even death; but what motive is sufficient for these things? Banish God and a future life from your universe; then bring to yourselves these questions: Is it enough for one to ask what is right? Ought I never to seek what is pleasing? What is right, anyway? Does it not, like the chameleon, change its hue with its environment?

3. Morality is not the best, because it consists in doing, rather than in being; in conduct, rather than in character. It leaves out of count the inner life. It is mere conformity with something external. If the standard of morality were dishonesty, impurity, injustice, the moralists would quickly adjust themselves to their environment.

4. Morality has no question for remorse. How can one who has been wrong, get right? Morality says: Do right. But it has no voice for those who have done wrong, and who pitifully ask for some way to retrieve their error.

There is nothing in morality to take a man out of himself, nothing which tends to inspire high and heroic endeavor for the alleviation of the ills of humanity, because there is nothing in it which gives great ideas of man and his destiny.

Our question is, Morality: What is better? Our reply is, Anything which makes clear and vivid the reality of God, human brotherhood, and the spiritual nature of man. Zoroaster, in his doctrine of the unity and spirituality of God, offers something better. The Jewish religion in its Book of Job is infinitely better; the religion of Jesus Christ is best of all. No matter how it came, or whether it is natural or supernatural. It is immaterial whether Christ was a man alone, or, in a unique sense, the Son of God; Christ's message presents the highest ideal of righteousness,—it furnishes also adequate motives toward a life of righteousness.

THE "CHURCH OF ISLAM" AT LIVERPOOL.

SIR W. MUIR, K. C. S. I.

Church Missionary Intelligencer, London, June.

THIS tale of the spread of Islam at Liverpool is very curious,—an Eastern romance, when probed, it comes next to nothing.

"In and about March, 1890," we read in an Indian journal, "paragraphs appeared in several Punjab vernacular papers, stating that from 300 to 500 Englishmen had embraced Islam in Liverpool, and that a Bishop was at their head. The news spread like wildfire, and preachers were told 'to go to Liverpool!'"

I was startled a short time ago by receiving an Arabic brochure with a strange title-page; it purports to be the translation of an English treatise on *The Faith of Islam*, by Abdulla William Quilliam, solicitor in the Supreme Court of Liverpool.

The book is prefaced by an introduction giving a short account of the author. He was brought up, it says, among the Wesleyans, and used to preach to them. Going to Tangiers for his health, he was struck by the truth of Islam, and by the virtue of its followers. He embraced the Moslem faith, and set up the practice of its rites and worship. "And

so, when joined by other Moslems, they established at Liverpool a mosque for the observance of the five daily prayers, the Friday service, and that of the two festivals. Now, when intelligence of this reached our Gracious Sovereign, the Caliph Commander of the Faithful, whom the Lord bless and prosper, His Majesty received him into his presence, gave him marks of special favour, and introduced him into a company of the learned nobility in his palace. These welcomed and honored him, and gave him joy at joining the blessed faith. He is again at his home, in Liverpool, busily occupied in all the observances of the faith. May the Lord sustain and prosper him in the good work! Amen." Such is the Arabic introduction.

I obtained an English copy of *The Faith of Islam*, which is a rambling treatise, for the English convert has evidently no knowledge of Arabic and not much Oriental learning. After giving a brief account of the Prophet its author ends thus: "Such is the faith of Islam, such is the belief of 180,000,000 human beings who still follow the teachings of the last and greatest of the Prophets, and five times a day address to Almighty God the prayers of the faithful." "This is the brotherhood to which we now invite our countrymen in England, this is the faith we offer for their acceptance."

So much for the Arabic version of the work, which has thus been published by authority in Turkey and Syria, and is evidently regarded there as a triumph for Islam.

The *Punjab Mission News* for January, February, and March is mainly occupied with the reports of Mr. Bateman and Dr. Martyn Clark. These agree in the result; but that of Dr. M. Clark, who had a better opportunity, is by far the fullest. He was present at the so-called Moslem services, and interviewed Mr. Quilliam in company with a press-reporter who took their conversation down. The "Pro Mosque," he tells us, is one of a row of common brick houses; the balcony is the place where the Muezzin stands. A wooden board has the hours for "divine service on Sundays" in "the Church of Islam." The room in which service is held has a stand with copies of Sale's Coran; and "in front of the platform stands a fine American organ, which is regularly used in the public services." The following account of this mongrel worship is too curious to be curtailed:

The Liverpool Moslem Liturgy.—The manuscript lying on the piano proved on examination to be most interesting; it is the collection of prayers used at service. Each prayer is prefaced with reading of a Sura. The prayers themselves are a queer medley, with almost nothing of the Mohammedan about them. They are wholly modelled on the form of Christian prayers, and, in fact, are copiously interlarded with phrases from the Bible and from the Liturgy of the Church of England. The prayers are very good as far as they go, and in spirit and conception as un-Moslem, if I may use the word, as they could well be. It was easy to see the source of inspiration, as I, almost at random, culled such familiar phrases as, "We commend to Thy fatherly goodness." One sentence ran, "Teach us to love one another." Another petition is that they might "rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep." They call on "our souls and all that is within us" to praise His holy Name, and say, "Thine be the glory and dominion"; adding "May we be glad in the Lord and bless Thy holy Name so long as we have any being," and may "our meditation of Thee be sweet."

In another prayer they confess themselves to be "defiled with the exceeding sinfulness of sin," for "all, like sheep, have gone astray." And pray for a "penitent and believing heart." Still more, confess the worshippers, we have been "unmindful of Thy love to us," but give "humble and hearty thanks" and pray for grace, "so to number our days that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom." They mourn over their "negligences and ignorances," and pray for grace to "enable us to show forth Thy praise not only with our lips, but also in every detail of our lives, by giving up ourselves to Thy service, and living before Thee in holiness and righteousness all our days." They desire to think "of the things belonging to our peace" and to "live as strangers and pilgrims that seek another country even a

heavenly." "Prevent us," says another prayer, "from loving the world or the things of the world more than Thee. Be Thou alone our strength in life, our hope in death and our exceeding great reward for evermore."

Then there is the hymn-book, of which Dr. Clark says: "Hymns and singing and music are not in any sense Mohammedan institutions: the hymn-book and its accompaniment are both remarkably Christian. As we look through its pages we are amongst old friends. There are, 'Dare to be a Daniel,' 'The Lord is my Shepherd,' 'O God, our help in ages past,' 'Take my life and let it be,' etc. A wonderful thing indeed is Islam in Liverpool!"

As to the service:

The thing was done almost exactly as an evangelistic service amongst Christians would be. The Moslems wore fez caps; three women (who formed the choir) sat by the organ, others were dotted about amongst the men. There was no attempt either at veiling or segregation of sexes. There was nothing Mohammedan about the place, except the fez caps, Coran-stand, and Arabic writing on the wall. A man in a fez played a voluntary, Mr. Quilliam and another Moslem issued from the vestry (ablution-room) and took their places on the platform. The congregation rose and sang, "Praised be God," after the manner of an anthem, in parts. The service then began by the singing of hymn 28, "O God, our help in ages past." All stood to sing. Mr. Quilliam led in prayer (*extempore*). He stood, the people sat. Homage and thanks for past mercies; a petition for their continuance; that they might live according to the law; for the Queen, and at some length for the Sultan, Khalif, and Mohammedan sovereigns, and for those who rule over Mohammedan peoples. Another petition was that they might approach "in spirit and prayer," and might enjoy the fruit of good works in the Garden of Paradise. These were the salient points. Then came hymn 14, "Trust in God and do the right" (Kingsley). After that a portion of the chapter entitled, "*Momen*, revealed at Medina," was read. It was concluded by the phrase, "Here endeth the reading." There was no particular reverence shown for the Coran (or reverence of any sort, for that matter); in fact, while singing, Mr. Quilliam had his copy of the Coran at his feet on the platform, on a small reading-desk.

As regards the number of converts, Mr. Quilliam gave it as between forty and fifty. At one time he said the total membership was fifty-three, and number of converts sixty. Dr. Clark does not believe the number to be beyond twenty-eight. The following are the general conclusions of Dr. Clark's very careful inquiries:

To sum up as regards the converts, Mr. Quilliam is (1) indefinite, (2) contradictory, and (3) resolutely declines to submit his figures to documentary tests. These things convince me that, though Mr. Quilliam may claim sixty or 600 converts, in all there are not more than twenty-eight at the outside. They are people who are drawn, generally speaking, from the lower ranks of life,—persons, as a whole, neither of education nor position. As many of them as I saw were hopelessly ignorant of Islam; they really knew nothing about it. Mr. Quilliam has a creation of his own in his mind, which he maintains is Mohammedanism. The Institute in Liverpool is a total failure. It is treated with derision by all classes of the community.

But I have yet more to say concerning the converts. At the house of a friend I met a person, one connected with Mr. Quilliam. This person did not know me, and talked freely to my friend in my presence on this wise: "It is decaying instead of increasing. Such members as there are hardly ever come near it, except on Sunday evenings. There is nothing of devotion about any of them, except some of the women." Best of all, his informant had seen the roll of membership a few weeks ago (about September), and then there were thirty—certainly not more than thirty-five—names on it, converts, natives of India, born Mohammedans from other lands included. All told, thirty-five at the outside was the number on the roll, including "a lot of outlandish names," as this person remarked. No wonder Mr. Quilliam requires "a warrant from the Mohammedans of India" to show it.

In this connection, I may mention great capital has been made out of the latest convert, a certain clergyman a graduate of St. John's

College, Oxford, who was reported to have joined the Moslems some time ago. This gentleman, however, in the *Liverpool Daily Post* for October 29, 1891, gave an absolute denial of the report that he had joined Mahomedanism. The informant further stated that there has been a groat row amongst the Moslems at the Institute, the result of jealousy, and that as an outcome there have been five or six secessions.

And now to conclude this matter. England is in no danger; Liverpool is still unconverted to Islam. From the point of view of Indian Mohammedanism, the whole thing is a barefaced sham. There is no Islam here as our Indian Mohammedans believe in it. There are hardly any converts—none whom they would consider Mohammedans, not one. Instead of sending money, our Indian friends had much better send some real moulvies to inquire into the thing, and get an opinion from competent authority instead of "moulvies" of the law-student type.

Such is Dr. H. Martyn Clark's account of the rise and progress of Islam at Liverpool, and as so much has been made of it in India, Turkey, and elsewhere, it is well that the facts should be known.

MISCELLANEOUS.

SUMMER VACATIONS AND PHYSICAL CULTURE.

J. M. BUCKLEY, LL.D.

Chautauquan, Meadville, July.

SEDENTARY persons who wish to repair physical waste and accumulate energy for the next season are those with whom I can sincerely sympathize and reasonably hope to aid. Teachers, bookkeepers, ministers, bankers, chemists, physicians and other professional men, young men whose pursuits are indoor, students; those who are not sick, but are victims of neurasthenia or hypochondria. All these should hold certain laws inexorably. Begin unusual exercise gradually, and do not reach the maximum of exertion until one full week, at the least, of regularly increased exertion has been accomplished. Disregard of this has often made a vacation worse than useless. Harmful even to youth, it is injurious and dangerous to persons in middle or later life. Hernia, rheumatism, heart disease, hemorrhages, are caused by disregard of this rule. In instances without such serious consequences, the autumn finds the person unrefreshed, less fit for work than when the vacation began.

Eat nothing until there has been at least half an hour of rest. Water and other fluids should not be drunk rapidly or in large quantities. To pour cold mountain water down by the pint, after heavy strain upon the heart in climbing, is to risk self-murder.

Never take any long-continued exercise which requires breathing with the mouth open, nor any unusually severe exercise in a high temperature. A suspension of unusual exercise as often as once a week, and of usual exercise, if it be severe, is a sound maxim of health.

To derive the highest benefit eat moderately rather than to excess. All trainers know this. When the digestion is once impaired, exercise may be more hurtful than rest.

One of the best methods for those who like roughing, is to take a sailing voyage on a coaster or a fishing-vessel. The better plan is not to go as a mere passenger, but to pay whatever is necessary, with the understanding that you are to take hold and help, though not to be tied down to the work of an ordinary hand. At points of landing and in delays, there would be much to break the monotony; a few books to read on occasion, and pure air, plain food, and exercise, will build one up wondrously. Such a trip on a fishing-vessel is one of the most fattening processes imaginable. I have known young men, after five or six weeks spent thus, to come home with a net gain of twenty or twenty-five pounds.

Seacoast resorts, where the time can be spent in boats, fishing, rowing, and sailing, agrees with the health of many, and affords sufficient exercise.

Three sorts of active tours on land, and one passive, contain more recuperative elements and more sources of pleasure to most persons than other ways of occupying a vacation period: the pedestrian, the equestrian, and the cyclian. The cyclian is inferior to the equestrian in that it cannot be used in going through the woods, or where a horse could pick his way, or in traversing many declivities.

The equestrian compared with the pedestrian has some important advantages, and some equally decided objections. For a very short trip greater speed can be made, but not for a long one, at least in mountainous regions. The horse was never made that a good pedestrian could not tire out and pass. A pedestrian is independent of roads. With compass or guide he can cross mountain ranges, climb adjacent summits, explore lakes and ravines, and reach points in a day which would require several days of travel by the regular roads.

As a whole, having tried both, walking five thousand miles on such trips in nearly every State in the Union, and riding on horseback perhaps fifteen hundred miles at home and abroad, I prefer pedestrianism because of independence, the healthfulness of the exercise, the continual perspiration—the most health-giving of all conditions when not produced by artificial heat and when sustained by suitable food and drink. Every part of the body is renewed by such exercise.

No part of the world offers greater facilities for such tours than the United States. No one will be harmed whose feet are shod with the preparation of hygiene, and not of fashion. Nothing is better than old-fashioned army brogans. A shoe that gives room for each toe to perform its functions, does not slip at the heel, and has a sole thick but not too thick, and a low heel (with an extra pair always at hand), and large woolen stockings are all that is needed; and the stockings would be better worn inside out, and changed from one foot to the other every two hours. For the same reason the shoes should be changed once a day, until the pedestrian is broken in. The foot strikes the ground on an average two thousand times in every mile, and if a single horsehair or a fold no larger should press against the foot, the continually repeated pressure would soon cut through the skin. The change of shoes and stockings distributes the pressure.

For a person wholly unaccustomed, let the walk of the first day be but six miles; three leisurely taken in the morning, and three in the afternoon. Add one mile per day to each of these exercises for five days, and rest on Sunday. Begin the next Monday with five miles in the morning and five in the afternoon, and add one mile to the morning and one to the afternoon walk, up to the next Saturday. Twenty miles a day will thus be reached, and after that he can do as he pleases. By the end of the second week almost all tendency to take cold will have disappeared; though it is never safe to sit down on the ground or on a rock without something besides the clothes between the rock or the ground and the body.

Making a tour in a carriage is a passive exercise, is very delightful, but hardly worth mentioning as a means of accumulating energy. It is a sort of agreeable rest cure.

I have reserved to the last one of the very best methods—camping out. As a rule, to be perfectly successful, frequent changes of camp are needed. To make the camping out a success, regular hours for meals and sleep must be insisted on. There is no sleep after daylight, and there should be no sitting up after dark on summer nights.

Only inexperienced youth roughs it more than is necessary. In such tours he should be willing to bear or do everything unavoidable, and not mind occasional extra and very severe exertion; but if he would derive the best results he will not willingly strain himself, or unusually expose himself to the elements.

Books.

THE LAST WORDS OF THOMAS CARLYLE. Wotton Reinfred: A Romance. Excursion (Futile Enough) to Paris. Letters. Cloth, 12mo, pp. 383. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

[These are not Carlyle's "Last Words" in the sense that they were his latest, but they are posthumous works, now first given to the public. Wotton Reinfred, indeed, was probably written soon after Carlyle's marriage, and may be said to present a peculiar psychological interest, inasmuch as it represents the early period of Carlyle's literary development. Mr. Froude tells us that the story is taken generally from real life, and that probably on this account it was never finished (for it is only a fragment). It is probable, however, that Carlyle soon realized that the didactic form was more suitable to the enunciation of his philosophy, and more congenial than the novel form which only hampered him by the requirements of the plot. It would have been very hard to prognosticate what sort of a novel Carlyle could write, but the essay before us is unquestionably Carlylean.]

The *Excursion (Futile Enough)* to Paris is the unreserved daily record of a journey in company with the Brownings, when Carlyle paid a visit to Lord Ashburton.]

WOTTON was one of those natures which it is of the utmost importance to educate rightly, but also of greatest difficulty, and which, accordingly, with a capricious contradiction, we often find worse educated than any other. In early youth he had lost his father, a man of an equal, but stern and indignant temper, who with a calm and iron cynicism, repelled all advances whether of courtesy or provocation.

The mother to whose sole guidance he was now committed, had a mother's love for her boy, and was in all respects a true-minded woman; but, for such a spirit as Wotton's, no complete, though, in some points, a most precious instructress. She trained his heart to the love of all truth and virtue, but of his mental development she took little heed. She taught him to read and write; the former so early that it seemed less like an art than a faculty; and as soon as his strength appeared sufficient, she sent him to a day-school in the nearest town, a distance of six miles, which, with his satchel on his back, the ruddy urchin used to canter over on his little shelt, morning and evening. His progress was the boast of his teachers; but poor timid Wotton had a sorry time of it, in this tumultuous, cozening, brawling, club-law commonwealth. They flouted him, they beat him, they jeered, and tweaked, and tortured him by a thousand cunning arts, to all which he answered only with his tears, for which he was deemed cowardly and was named "weeping Wotton," and set down as a proper enough bookworm, but without a particle of spirit. When thoroughly provoked, however, his fury was boundless, and no earthly or unearthly thing could hold him from the heart of his enemy, so that even the tallest and boldest quailed before him.

His little prayer came evening and morning from a full heart, and life, in the thought of the innocent boy, seemed little else than a pilgrimage through a sacred alley, with the pinnacles of the Eternal Temple at its close.

In his fifteenth winter he was sent to college. The seminary was in a large town, at a distance of many miles; to Wotton, a pure "city of the mind" glorious as the habitation of wisdom, and cloud-capt in his fancy with all earthly splendour. Here he gloried to track the footsteps of the mighty Newton, but he soon found to his cost that the Principia do but enlighten one small fore-court of the mind. In time, like other men, he came to need a theory of man, a system of metaphysics for adoption and belief. He found only Doubt, pale doubt, rising like a spectral Shadow, distorting or obscuring the good and holy; nay sometimes hiding the very Holy of Holies from his eye. His mother saw there was something, but she was incompetent to solve his doubts, and feared to penetrate them.

Without associate, however, he was not always to be. Bernard Swayne, his senior by several years, a man of talent, education, and restless, vigorous activity, hearing much of the wonderful talents, the moodiness, and bitter wayward humours of his neighbor, sought him out in one of his summer rustications, and forced his way into the privacy of the youthful misanthrope, and so thoroughly won his friendship that Wotton had soon no secret, economic or spiritual, which the other did not share in.

Such was his mood when a little incident quite transformed the scene. He went to call on Bernard one evening, and was introduced by name to a bright young creature whom, in his bashfulness he scarcely dared look at, for the presence filled him with painful, yet sweetest embarrassment. Jane Montagu was a name well-known to

him; far and wide its fair owner was celebrated for her graces and gifts; herself also he had seen and noted; her slim, daintiest form, her soft, sylph-like movement, her black tresses shading a face, so gentle, yet so ardent; but all this he had noted only as a beautiful vision, which he himself had scarcely right to look at, for her sphere was far from his; as yet he had never heard her voice nor hoped that he should ever speak to her. Yet surely she was not indifferent to him, else whence his commotion, his astonishment, his agitation now when near her. His spirit was roused from its deepest recesses, a thousand dim images and vague feelings of gladness were clashing in tumultuous vortices within him; he felt as if he stood on the eve of some momentous incident—as if this hour were to decide the welfare or woe of long future years.

[In other words, he fell in love after the manner of men, and proceeded to analyze his sensations after the manner of philosophical students. There was reason to believe that Jane Montagu reciprocated his sentiments, and his suit seemed to prosper until the girl's guardian, an aunt, interfered and put a full stop to their intercourse. She appears to have designed the girl for a clever but unworthy man of the world, whose suit was, however, unsuccessful. Still this latter fact failed to rouse Wotton from the bitter misanthropic mood in which his loss had plunged him. Bernard, with immense difficulty, does, however, succeed in persuading him to travel, and on the journey he becomes the guest of a man who reawakens his interest in life and its problems. The House in the Wold, of which he was now a guest, was full of philosophers and unique characters, male and female, whom the host had drawn round him. Here a strange chance brought him once more in contact with Jane Montagu, who grants him an interview with the purpose of telling him the story of her life, before she leaves him to continue her journey, and the story ends abruptly in the midst of her narration.]

ANGLO-ISRAEL AND THE JEWISH PROBLEM. The Ten Lost Tribes of Israel Found and Identified in the Anglo-Saxon Race. The Jewish Problem Solved in the Reunion of Israel and Judah, and Restoration of the Israelitish Nation. By Rev. Thomas Rosling Howlett, B.A., A.M. Philadelphia: The Author.

PROFESSOR KUENEN, writing from the most anti-supernatural point of view "proposes to settle the strife between the supernatural and the naturalistic view of prophecy by the single test of fulfillment." It is a fair test. The burden of his argument is to prove that predictive prophecy has not been fulfilled. *Israel* is our conclusive answer to these bold assertions. To be so, however, Israel must be recognized as a permanent fact in history as well as in prophecy.

The history of Israel from the Exodus to the fall of Samaria (721 B.C.) is given in the Scriptures. From that event the fortune of the Ten Tribes is foreshadowed by the predictions and expectations of the prophets concerning their future.

With the fall of Samaria, they disappear from the Holy Land, being removed by their Assyrian conquerors to Media, where they were settled in colonies. What finally became of them has been one of the unsettled problems of history.

Some Christian scholars treat this concern for lost Israel as a trifling matter. But it is no trifle: the integrity of the Scriptures is involved in it. If those tribes are irretrievably lost, what became of the promises which God made to them, and the predictions and expectations of the prophets concerning them?

To find Israel, is to turn the whole army of destructive critics, flushed with hopes and shouts of anticipated victory, into a total rout, and also to settle many great problems which are now puzzling and vexing the Christian Church.

God declared: "I will sift the House of Israel among all the nations, like as corn is sifted in a sieve, yet shall not the least grain fall upon the earth." Amos. ix.: 9.

Are these declarations and predictions true? They are, as Anglo-Israelism demonstrates. The continuity of Jacob's race under another name—Anglo-Saxon—confirms every one of them. Such is our conviction, based on the facts and certainties presented in this volume which are sufficient to demonstrate to every reader that Israel and Saxon are an organic and ethnic unit.

Firstly, there is a very strong presumptive evidence that a race of men, chosen by God as a special people, and trained for His service under Moses and succeeding prophets, would never have been totally excluded from the benefits of the Gospel. Secondly, we have the ethnic evidence of unity of race of the Anglo-Saxon and Israelites. Both are fair people, while the Aryans, whether of India or as represented in the Latin races of Europe, are dark.

Thirdly, in Victor Hehn's account of the early migrations into

Europe, three distinct migrations of three distinct races are clearly marked. First, those who became the Greeks, Italians, Thracians, Illyrians. These are conceded to have been Aryans. Second, the Celts, and subsequent Teutons, light-complected people of Semitic origin. Third, the Lithuanians and Slavs. The Masagetae, the Sacae, and Scyths, though coming later than the Celts, were of the same race. They were all dispersed Israelites. Farther there is a marked affinity between the English and Israel's institutions, manners, customs, laws, and military affairs, in their common spirit of resistance to absolutism and tyranny; there is ethnic evidence of Hebrew names of places in Britain, and particularly in Wales, as Yarmouth, Marizon, Baal-Dogon, etc., and you may trace a list of Israelitish surnames in English families from Aaron to Zalamanson.

Those given to *places* by the tribes in their dispersion are even more significant. They mark the routes taken and the resting-places of their pilgrimage from Media to the British Isles. The tribe of Dan were the pioneers, and went by way of Greece to Denmark and Ireland. As they journeyed they gave their names according to tribal custom to streams and places along the way: Danube, Daneister, Daneiper, Don, Danaster, Dantzig, Danez, Eridan (the Po), Rhodan (the Rhone), Danrick Alps, Danish Archipelago, Denmark. In Ireland they were called Tuatha Danoí, or tribe of Dan. In that island we find to this day Dan's-Lough, Dan-Sowar, Dan-Monism, Dan's-Castle, and Dangan-Castle. In fact they left their name a permanent record of their whole route from Jordan to London. There is, moreover, a strong affinity in language between English and Hebrew, many words being the same in sound and sense, the idiomatic structure in similar, and the similarity of idea renders it possible to translate Hebrew into English with a facility such as is afforded by no other language. The rapidity with which English is becoming the universal language is a remarkable fulfillment of the prediction in Zeph. iii.: 9. *Then will I turn to the people, a pure language, that they may all call upon the name of the Lord and serve him with one consent.*

Sharon Turner, in his history of the Anglo-Saxons, found in Media, 700 B.C., a people whom he claims as the ancestors of the British. He acknowledges that Media was not their cradle, but where they came from he could not tell. Where Israel is lost, there the Saxon is found. The disappearance of one synchronizes with the appearance of the other. Time, place, and race are in accord; the gulf is bridged, the lost is found.

The mutual friendship of the Jewish and English-speaking races is remarkable, too, in the midst of Jewish persecution elsewhere. The cause is racial affinity, and the clearly revealed purpose of God respecting both branches of the great Hebrew family. Colonization of the Jews in Syria or elsewhere can afford no solution of the Jewish problem. It is against Scripture. But to mingle life and blood with the Anglo-Saxon peoples would be to dwell among their own kindred of the House of Joseph. Citizen with the Anglo-Saxon is the destiny of the Jew, and this, when accomplished, will be the restoration of Israel.

GERMANY. By Heinrich Heine. In Two Volumes. 12mo, pp. 384, 399. New York: John W. Lovell Company. 1892.

[These are the Fifth and Sixth Volumes in a translation of the complete works of Heine by Charles Godfrey Leland, known by his *nom de guerre*, Hans Breitmann. Of Heine Mr. Leland is a veteran translator, for his version of the German author's "*Buch der Lieder*" (Book of Songs) appeared as long ago as 1859. The present work, which is an account of the leading German writers—especially those on philosophy and religion—from Luther down to the time when Heine wrote, originally appeared for the most part in some French periodicals. In book form the various parts appeared first in French, and afterwards in German. The editions in the two languages differ considerably, the present being the first complete edition of "Germany," and this has made difficult the task of the present translator, who has enriched his version with some admirable Notes. The merits and defects of the work, as well as those of Heine himself, are pointed out with much candor by Mr. Leland in his Preface. We cannot better give a clear idea of the book and its author than by extracts from the Preface.]

THE "Germany" of Heinrich Heine is a work of which no one can be ignorant who seeks sound, or even superficial, knowledge of modern literature. It is from beginning to end replete with deep and original thoughts of the kind from which entire essays on books can be made; and these are, in many instances, thrown off in such brief and brilliant form, that it would seem almost as if the author thought

more of amusing than instructing, or—which is indeed, in most instances, more usual—as if he supposed the reader to be, in fact, as well informed, as shrewd of apprehension, and as cleverly genial as himself. Such writers, who are, however, of the rarest, are invaluable as educators, or as trainers of thought and style. He who is treated by an author as an equal, will, if he studies that author's works thoroughly, end by developing more or less his style or aptitude. In this respect, I believe Heine to be equaled by few writers, and the "Germany," from the same point, to be by far his best work.

One cannot praise too highly, as regards depth and value, the manner in which he has seized, in a most independent and original manner, on the leading names which truly illustrate German thought since Luther, or the exquisite skill and refined art with which he has concisely and beautifully set them forth. Even beyond this, is his great idea of enforcing, as no one ever did before him, the great truth that the philosophers, metaphysicians, scholars, and literary men of Germany, who have been proverbial, not only among the vulgar, but too often among the better educated, as mere dreamers, speculators, and spinners of transcendental and visionary cobwebs of the brain, were in fact the intellects which in the most literal and practical manner trained and developed the German mind and nation to its present position.

The two great faults of the "Germany" are these. Heine wished to be regarded as the first person who made German literature and thought known to France, which was to him really the world. England he ignored, because he had no hold on or fame in it. Madame de Staël, however, aided by her early teacher, August W. Von Schlegel, had well done in *L'Allemagne*, the work of making German literature known to French readers, while Victor Cousin had admirably achieved a like work in regard to German thought. For this reason Heine treats these authors, especially the two men, with an unconcealed hatred which is simply as violent as it is more generally silly, his object being to decry them out of mere envy. For I do not believe that Heine had at heart a poor opinion of their works; he was far too intelligent and well read not to appreciate them.

The reader who is not familiar with the subject must be on guard as to Heine's really arrogant assertion that he was the first to make known to the people the systems of the great German philosophers. The grain which he boasts of having taken from the storehouse of German philosophy, and cleaned for the people, turns out too often to be mere "chaff." He does not give, in fact, intelligently and succinctly, as many before him had done, the *method* of any philosopher; and in several cases his attempts are so imperfect as to almost induce a suspicion that he had not clearly understood them. This is certainly the case as regards the methods of Kant, Fichte, and Schelling, while as to Hegel he really tells us nothing at all.

Heine posed as a deeply read man on most subjects—as he should have been, to treat so many properly; but it would amaze not a few of his most devoted admirers to know how slender was his erudition, even when he tried to appear learned. This is apparent in several places in "Germany," which occasionally presents pitiful illustration of a man's endeavoring to carry on a great business with a small capital. Yet he never comes to actual bankruptcy; in fact, with many he has illimitable credit for solid wisdom, which credit is in the end for him as good as capital.

We have the feeling as regards Heine that if anyone had said to him, "Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel," he would have immediately answered, "Ah! but you can't get along without water, you know." This is unanswerable, but not an answer, neither is it wisdom; and yet Heine set himself up for a sage of sages, and a leader in politics. Sometimes this king's jester disguises himself as a wise man and sits in the assembly, and for a time amazes and amuses all present by his marvelous genius; but anon there is heard a tinkling of morris-bells and there is seen a flash of red ribbons and tinsel—some one twitches away the philosopher's robe, when out skips the mad rogue with a roar of laughter and a screaming joke, in naught ashamed, and in a few minutes reappears *incognito* in another guise. "And yet he *did* speak wisely for a time: yes, very beautifully, and oh, so gaily!" says some one regretfully. And so say we all of us. He spoke more sagely than our sages do, and yet he was a jester all the while. In justice to "Germany" it must be said that in it, for the greater portion, our author sits well-behaved in the council and speaks admirably.

The Press.

THE DEMOCRATS.

The Democratic National Convention did its work in three days, beginning June 21. The Hon. William C. Owens of Kentucky was the Temporary Chairman, and the Hon. William L. Wilson of West Virginia the Permanent Chairman; Charles H. Jones, editor of the *St. Louis Republic*, was Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. The platform is considerably longer than the Republican. As reported from the Committee, its tariff plank, while declaring that "the necessity of the Government is the only justification for taxation," contained some words of explanation and disavowal which the radical "tariff reform" element of the Convention regarded as unsatisfactory. Accordingly Mr. Neal of Ohio offered a substitute plank, pronouncing unequivocally for tariff for "revenue only," which was adopted by the Convention by a vote of 564 to 342. In the debate Mr. Watterson of Kentucky characterized the tariff plank of the Committee on Resolutions as a repetition of the "straddle of 1884." (It is noteworthy that the New York delegates, who were uncompromisingly against Mr. Cleveland, cast their seventy-two votes for the more radical tariff resolution.) An effort was made by the free silver delegates to modify the platform so as to secure some recognition for the free coinage policy; but without any success. Mr. Cleveland was placed in nomination by Leon Abbot of New Jersey, Senator Hill by William C. DeWitt of New York, and Governor Boies by John W. Duncombe of Iowa; a notable speech was made by W. Bourke Cockran of New York supporting Hill and opposing Cleveland. Cleveland was nominated on the first ballot, at 3:29 A. M., June 23:—Cleveland 617½, Hill 114, Boies 103, Gorman 36½, Stevenson 16½, Campbell 2, Morrison 3, Carlisle 14, Pattison 1, Russell 1, Whitney 1. The nomination was made unanimous, New York assenting. Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois was nominated for Vice-President on the first ballot, over ex-Governor Gray of Indiana, Morse of Michigan, and Mitchell of Wisconsin.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Mr. Cleveland issued the following statement to the press after receiving the news of his nomination:

I should certainly be chargeable with dense insensibility if I were not profoundly touched by this new proof of the confidence and trust of the great party to which I belong, and whose mandates claim my loyal obedience.

I am confident that our fellow-countrymen are ready to receive with approval the principles of true Democracy, and I cannot rid myself of the belief that to win success it is only necessary to persistently and honestly advocate those principles.

Differences of opinion and judgment in Democratic conventions are by no means unwholesome indications, but it is hardly conceivable, in view of the importance of our success to the country and the party, that there should be anywhere among Democrats any lack of harmonious and active effort to win in the campaign which opens before us.

I have, therefore, no concern on that subject. It will certainly be my constant endeavor to deserve the support of every Democrat.

New York World (Dem.), June 24.—The only objection brought against his nomination was that he could not carry New York. It was never urged that he is not honest, that he is not capable, that he is not faithful to the Constitution. He meets the Jeffersonian test perfectly. But because some people like him and other people do not, it was said that he cannot carry New York. It is a libel on the Empire State. If it were true, it would show that New York does not value rugged honesty, a high conception of public office, unswerving devotion to duty, and uncompromising fidelity to the principles of Democracy. If it were true it would prove that a large number of Democrats are ruled by prejudice rather than by principle—that they care more for their

preferences than for their party. The *World* refuses to believe either of these things. It believes that the qualities which have impelled and compelled the nomination of Grover Cleveland are qualities which New York respects not less than her sister States, and that the preferences of her delegation for another candidate will, when the flush of their disappointment has passed, be succeeded by a loyal support of the nominee of the Convention. Mr. Cleveland was nominated by the Democratic, doubtful, and hopeful States. These gave him 413 or his 617 votes.

New York Journal of Commerce (Ind.-Dem.), June 24.—As a mere politician Mr. Cleveland did not make a very brilliant record. It was evident that he did not feel very strongly bound to his party or under any special obligation to take counsel of its leaders, or to reward the rank and file with office. With most plain people this was very much to his credit, but it created a coolness between him and the party leaders, so that they did not work very zealously for his reelection. He has undoubtedly learned many useful lessons from his former defeat. He has a better knowledge of the questions at issue, and he has gained in popularity by all that he has said and done since he laid aside his official robes. If the Democrats will all unite in his support he will be elected, as he will have a large following from the Republicans who supported him before, and from others who are not pleased with the present incumbent.

Brooklyn Daily Eagle (Dem.), June 23.—Cleveland has been nominated again for President. He received more than the two-thirds vote of the convention. There are, therefore, no drawbacks on his nomination. It comes with all the power, circumstance, and authority that ever attended the selection of any other Democratic nominee. It is on that account binding on all partisans of the Democracy. Everything that there is of loyalty and allegiance in partnership requires that Cleveland be supported. He was fiercely opposed. That was the right of those who exercised it. The idea of his nomination was declared to be hostile to the hopes of Democratic success. That was the privilege and within the license of the opposition. Nor was it unnatural. The Presidency is a great prize. There can be no enduring conflicts between Democrats. The only permanent foe of Democracy is Republicanism. We are sure that Grover Cleveland has no programme of partiality for the Democrats who favored him and no programme of resentments against the Democrats who opposed him. He respects the equal earnestness and the equal sincerity of both.

Troy Press (Dem.), June 23.—Whenever public interest and personal interest have seemingly clashed, Grover Cleveland stood by the people. In the estimation of keen politicians he signed his death warrant time and again in refusing to swerve from statesmanship to demagoguery when confronting important measures, and combating powerful interests. His backbone always proved stronger than his ambition, and yet the acts that would remand smaller men to private life only imparted to him a popularity that is to-day prodigious and unparalleled in the United States. Without tact or trickery, always declining to follow counsel contrary to his convictions, deficient in personal magnetism, blunt and fearless, the plain people of the land have yet learned to love and trust and admire Grover Cleveland. His inflexible honesty, practicing as well as professing the Democratic creed, and his broad and lofty views of administration and political doctrines, also won to him a train of loyal adherents, comprising men of scholarship, discrimination, and patriotism, known as the independent vote. This is certain to be a potent factor, and it will greatly swell Cleveland's plurality. He can be elected without New York, and he will carry New York by the largest plurality given any candidate since he defeated Folger in 1882. The American people admire the

Man of Principle, who remains as immovable as a Rock of Gibraltar, when the political skies are tempestuous and while double-dealers and self-seekers are frantically running for shelter. Grover Cleveland sacrificed the certainty of reelection that he might give to his party and to his country the vital and since victorious issue of Tariff Reform. He called upon his head the maledictions of powerful politicians, plotters, jobbers, and office-seekers that he might restore the integrity of the civil service and lift it out of the mire of partisan politics. He inspired the hatred of the thieves and treasury-raiders by the economic administration of the affairs of state. He courageously jeopardized his nomination at Chicago by uplifting his potential voice against the curse of free silver. He is the friend of honest government, honest money, and honest men.

Utica Press (Dem.), June 24.—There is no gainsaying the proposition that Mr. Cleveland holds a high place in the confidence and esteem of the people. He is weakest with the politicians. His record as President is that of a man who, though stubborn and self-confident, sought to do what he believed to be right. He has a good opinion of his own opinion, and regards his own judgment better than that often expressed by others. It is fair to say that his aim is to do what will be best as he sees it, or, in other words, that he is a man of honest intentions and purposes, and that is worth a great deal. He is a man of ability and strength of character, and in every case has the courage of his convictions. The common phrase "ugly honest" has some application in his case. His administration was straightforward and honorable, and the country was not the sufferer because of him. The people are not afraid of him, and if elected they will have no fear that Government matters will be badly or dishonestly managed. There is general confidence in his integrity. He will stand in this campaign as he did in '88, squarely on his tariff message to Congress. He is for Tariff Reform and on that issue he will win or fail. There is nothing about his personality that need enter into account. He is an honest advocate of lower tariff and a better exponent of that idea could not have been named, nor one which from the country at large who could have drawn a heavier vote. He is a poor politician and what unpopularity he has incurred, has in the main come from those who prefer more and other politics. He is a representative Democrat and is sound on the silver question. Under all the circumstances, it is the strongest nomination that could have been made.

Boston Globe (Dem.), June 25.—Cleveland has taken hold upon the popular imagination; he fills the popular ideal, and is hence the popular favorite. Like all positive men, Cleveland has made enemies; but it is seldom that he makes a single enemy without, at the same time, making a thousand friends. Unquestionably our leader has the people behind him, and the Convention audience was only an epitome of the great continental audience, enthusiastically committed to his support. Cleveland's great strength consists in the fact that he carries this great audience with him. He commands its loyalty, he arouses its enthusiasm, and he will obtain its votes. The cheers of the Wigwam galleries are echoed by an answering cheer from over all the continent.

Boston Post (Dem.), June 24.—The National Democracy has nominated for President a man who is a Democrat and who is not a Mugwump. Yet Grover Cleveland is a Democrat who commends himself to Mugwumps, for the same reason that he commends himself to Democrats. His honesty of character, his blunt sincerity of purpose, his boldness, his truthfulness, are qualities which Mugwumps and Democrats admire and which they seek in public office. The fact that Cleveland is acceptable to the Mugwumps does not shake his hold upon the affection of Democrats. The fact that Cleveland is a sincere and uncompro-

missing Democrat does not lessen the consideration in which he is held by the Mugwumps.

Fall River Daily Globe (Dem.), June 23.—A majority of the people are ready to cast down and trample the false idols and broken promises, and rally beneath the standard of reform under the aggressive and resolute leadership of sturdy Grover Cleveland. There will be no mutiny in the ranks, no desertions. When the bugle sounds, the Democratic host will be found formed in solid column, ready to march to victory. We've got the man, we've got the platform, and we'll have the votes.

Philadelphia Times (Dem.), June 24.—The nomination of Grover Cleveland by the Chicago Convention exhibits the most heroic politics of American history. Never before in all our political conflicts has a man been seriously considered as a Presidential candidate against the united protest of his own State. Not only did New York instruct for another candidate, but her delegation and her political machinery are positively hostile to Cleveland, and the nomination was made in the face of a formal protest signed by every member of the New York delegation, declaring that with him as the candidate party success would be gravely endangered in their State. The exceptionally heroic feature of Cleveland's nomination is in the fact that it has been dictated by the Democratic masses—North, South, East, and West—with little aid from the politicians and solely in the interest of honest government. No mere political machinery could have compassed his nomination with the earnest opposition led by many of the ablest party chieftains. Cleveland commands no such idolatry as did Clay, nor has he the individual magnetism to enthuse his followers like the Plumed Knight of Maine. He is the sober, resolute representative of the sternest integrity in public trust. He has preëminent ability to administer the Presidential office and the stubborn honesty to steady the lines of government, and measure equal, exact justice to all. He is to-day the most conspicuous representative of Democracy in its pristine simplicity, purity, and fidelity to the people, and it is this conviction pervading the masses of the Democratic voters in all sections that asserted its omnipotence in the Convention and compelled leaders and tricksters and professional spoilsmen to bow to the imperious command of honest Democracy.

Baltimore News (Dem.), June 23.—Why is Grover Cleveland the unanimous choice of the Democratic party? Because he is clean, honest, and courageous; because he believes in the people and trusts them; because he embodies every good tendency in American politics; because he has given his party a winning issue. It would have been strange, indeed, if Grover Cleveland had not been chosen to lead the Democratic party to victory. How would the party have stood before the country if it had repudiated such a man?

Baltimore Sun (Dem.), June 24.—Let even the political pessimist take heart and rejoice, and find in the action of the National Democracy food for hope and encouragement. Mr. Cleveland's nomination is due to the faith which the honest and intelligent masses of the party have in him, his wisdom, his personal integrity, and the firmness and courage of his political convictions. It is not due in any sense or degree to adroit management, to "snap" conventions or to "trap" conventions, or to any of the arts or devices of the political manager and wire-puller. It is the theory of our Government that the people choose their own rulers, or, to quote a memorable saying of Mr. Lincoln, that ours is "a Government of the people, by the people, and for the people." This theory is not always realized in practice. But never has it been more conspicuously illustrated than in Chicago in the renomination of Mr. Cleveland, which has been purely the people's work, with little or no aid from the politicians of his party, and

in the face of the most virulent opposition from many of the most powerful among them.

Pittsburgh Post (Dem.), June 25.—The Democracy stands for Tariff reform as enunciated by Grover Cleveland and for home rule as regards elections. These are weighty principles. They will command in their consideration the best thought of the people, and their discussion should not be lowered below the high standard they invite. We do not see any place in the coming campaign for sectional or race issues or for personal politics and villification. Taxation as involved in the tariff issue and centralization as imbedded in the Force Bill are vital questions, old as our Government, and in some form or other embody the essence of political debate not only in our own but in all representative and constitutional governments. It is likely to be a campaign of education and reason rather than of brassbands and torchlight processions. We glory in Cleveland as the representative of Democratic faith.

Indianapolis Sentinel (Dem.), June 23.—The triumphant nomination of Grover Cleveland as the Democratic candidate for the Presidency is a marked honor both to the man and to the party. It is one of those occurrences that is, because it should be—one whose existence reflects its greatest lustre on those who cause it. Grover Cleveland stands to-day without a rival in the confidence and esteem of the people of the United States. No one questions his integrity. From friends and foes alike comes the testimony that he is an honest man, a man who has the courage of his convictions, a man who has been tried and not found wanting. The overwhelming demand for his nomination is conclusive evidence that the masses of the Democratic party appreciate and desire honesty in public life. Their steadfast adherence to him through all the bitter effort to thrust him aside is the best testimonial that could be given to the honesty of purpose of the Democratic masses. They have always shown their faith by their works. This manifestation of a sincere and earnest desire for good government furnishes a strong ground of appeal to the people for confidence in the party. No one would be so foolish as to claim absolute purity for a political party. There are bad men in all parties, and in the movements of political organizations it is inevitable that the worst elements should at some times prevail. But here is a case in which the fight has been made on a leader on other grounds, and the character of that leader has stood like a rock against every assault that has been made upon him. To every attack that has been made the answer has come clear and quick, "He is honest. We can trust him. We want him." And this as to his availability as well as to other points urged, and it is a legitimate and sensible answer to that objection. People are right in believing that whom they can trust others will trust. The man who has gained the confidence of every other State in the Union may reasonably be believed to have the confidence of New York. It is a manifestation of the correct judgment of the masses—a judgment founded on subtle reason, that comes unconsciously as an inspiration to the majority of the people.

Cleveland Plain Dealer (Dem.), June 24.—There has been a great deal of fierce talk about what the anti-Cleveland Democrats in New York would do in case of his nomination. Talk before nomination and action afterwards are not always in accord. It was the proud boast of Senator Hill that he is a Democrat. His supporters in the Convention never let slip an opportunity to declare that they are Democrats, loyal to the decrees of the party. If they live up to their professions they will accept the action of the Convention and work for the election of the ticket. It is hardly to be imagined that they will do otherwise. Now that the candidate has been chosen and the platform agreed upon the Democrats will close up their ranks and present a united front to the common foe. The leader is once more

Cleveland, the man with the courage of his convictions and again the flag is that of Tariff Reform. With that leader and under that flag we believe victory is sure. There can be no doubt about it if the Democrats are united and determined. The opposition is divided and dissatisfied, but it will not do to rely upon the state of things continuing. The Democracy must act upon the assumption that the Republicans are doing their utmost with united ranks to win, and by not underrating the forces with which they have to contend the united and active Democracy will make their own success certain.

Saint Paul Daily Globe (Dem.), June 24.—The nomination of Grover Cleveland on the first ballot, by a vote exceeding two-thirds of all the delegates in the National Democratic Convention, when contrasted with the action of the Republican Convention at Minneapolis two weeks ago, affords some interesting material for comparison and study. Once again has the Democracy demonstrated the fact that it stands close to the people, and its conventions simply register the will of the great masses of the party. The rank and file of the Democrats of the United States favored, yea more, demanded the nomination of ex-President Cleveland, and the great Convention nominated him on the first ballot, in spite of that ancient law of the party which requires that two-thirds of all the delegates must vote for a candidate to give him the nomination. With the same unanimity the voters of the Republican party came up to the Minneapolis Convention asking and imploring the nomination of Mr. Blaine. They demanded it on the ground that it was necessary to success, and also that it was due to the Plumed Knight to give him the honor. But the "mailed legions of the bread-and-butter brigade" had no time for the people, and Mr. Blaine, the idol of the Republican masses, was defeated. In the Democratic Convention, however, things were different. Two great States presented favorite sons and gave to them loyal and hearty support. Both their men are able and popular leaders, but they failed to receive together one-third of the votes of the Convention. It would not have been at all surprising had Governor Boies and Senator Hill received much larger votes, had the convention failed to make a nomination on the first ballot under the rules of the party. But the people demanded the nomination of Mr. Cleveland, and favorite sons and popular leaders could not stand against this demand. The nomination of Grover Cleveland was a great popular victory, and its effects will be felt in the coming great contest.

Chicago Daily Globe (Dem.), June 24.—The Democrats of the United States have chosen Grover Cleveland, not because he is a New Yorker, but because he is the highest type of a Democrat the country affords. They have chosen him because he is the foremost representative of a policy on which the Democratic party must live or die. They have vindicated and given new life to the doctrine that in the selection of a national leader State influences and prejudices should have no part. As Grover Cleveland is the choice and hope of the Democracy as a whole, so they have chosen him in spite of protests and misgivings on the part of those who took mistaken, albeit sincere, views of the situation. The Democrats of the United States love and honor Grover Cleveland because, when his honesty, his firmness of purpose, his purity of principle and his ability are considered, he is the most magnificent combination of all that is desirable in a leader that can be found. His word is an engine of the most potent force, his name is an inspiration, his fame is a forerunner of victory. Under his leadership all ante-nomination opposition will dwindle to its real proportions, being merely the strife necessarily attendant on personal but friendly rivalry and passing away when the will of the party is made known. In November the nation will vindicate Grover Cleveland in the position on which he sank to

honorable defeat before the country was ripe for him.

Kansas City Times (Dem.), June 24.—Tariff Reform has been a Democratic doctrine since 1824, when the issue was first clearly drawn and modern parties were formed; but until Cleveland's fearless mind reached an unalterable conclusion the cause lacked a man. Beaten down by the huge power of special legislation created by the war, Tariff Reform had no leader whose own contempt of consequences could inspire and shock the people into action. Politicians feared the money and the sophistry of Protectionists. Since 1888 the cause and the man have grown upon the country. Ninety-five per cent. of the Democratic party demanded another trial of Cleveland at the polls. Popular conviction overbore the local leaders in the States, and instructed the delegations. At Chicago was seen the unprecedented spectacle of the nomination of a man opposed by the organized expression of his own State, and by no means the choice of a majority of the Convention itself. The people of the Democratic party have won. They look into or feel the future more truly than the trained politicians. New York will vote for Cleveland. The South will never waver. The bold declaration of the platform on the Tariff will make Massachusetts, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Michigan, doubtful States. Democratic principles always win when the people are brought up to the issue and see where justice lies. We have a leader whom we can follow everywhere. He is for us and we are for him.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Dem.), June 23.—The feeling that Cleveland was entitled to the nomination, and that if the party could not win with him it was not entitled to win and could not win with any other candidate, became, therefore, an immovable conviction in the minds of the great majority of Democratic voters. His nomination was made by them in the honesty of their hearts, and not by a gang of office-holders and representatives of plutocratic rapacity. The ensuing contest therefore is to be emphatically a struggle for supremacy between the taxpaying toilers of the land and the policy that would make our Government a mere machine to help the rich to further accumulations of the people's earnings.

St. Louis Republic (Dem.), June.—The nomination of Grover Cleveland means victory for Democracy against radicalism. At such a crisis as this, when the country is threatened by a faction intrenched in power, with the thousands of Federal office-holders under its control acting as its unscrupulous agents in politics, and reinforced by millions of money contributed by a plutocratic class desperately bent on perpetuating its supremacy and willing to go to any length in the attempt to retain its hold on Government, the leader needed for the people is one whose honesty all know; whose sincerity all can trust; whose courage has been demonstrated in victory with the people as in defeat for their cause. Grover Cleveland is such a man—a man who knows no sectional line dividing Americans; in whose broad sympathies all Americans are embraced; who follows his fixed convictions of right and duty regardless of the effect on his personal fortunes; who has repeatedly shown himself ready to sacrifice his own preferment to his sense of rectitude and who in doing so has grown each time stronger until now when, chosen to serve the Democratic party in its leadership and in advocacy of its great principles of individual liberty and local self-government, he stands among living Americans first in the esteem and confidence with which the American masses reward those of their servants and representatives whom, having tried, they have found true and worthy of trust. The opposition to his nomination may have been honest. It is not worth while to discuss that now. The people are for Cleveland. They were for his nomination. They are for his election. And he will be elected. The Democratic party under his

leadership will be victorious West and East, North and South. The sectionalism of the Civil War will be eradicated by his election. The power of money against men in Government will be checked. The faction of the returning board, the bayonet, and the blocks of five will be taught that love of honesty and devotion to liberty have not lost their power to control in America.

Richmond State (Dem.), June 23.—Mr. Cleveland stands for the bone and sinew of the party, and for its principles that have best commended themselves to the country. His nomination signalizes one of the greatest popular victories in the history of the Union, for it demonstrates that bluff, open honesty, and a square stand up to pledges made is what the Democracy of the United States approves best. It demonstrates that a spirit of timidity and time-serving, a desire to evade issues that must be met squarely, are not characteristics of the masses of the great party of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson. There have been some Democrats who were misled by specious objections to Mr. Cleveland, but the enthusiastic manner in which his nomination was made unanimous, indicates that the United Democracy will go into the fight to win.

Charleston News and Courier (Dem.), June 23.—Mr. Cleveland was nominated for President at Chicago yesterday, because he is the choice of nine-tenths of the Democratic voters of the country; because he possesses in a larger degree than any other Democrat the confidence of the people; because he has been tried and can be trusted; because he can command more votes than any of the other worthy men who were supposed to be candidates for the nomination. His choice as the Democratic nominee for President makes the issue of Tariff Reform the leading issue of the campaign. The solid South will vote for Cleveland because on him and his party depends the maintenance of home rule and white supremacy. The day is breaking in the East, and in the Northwest the sun of Tariff Reform has well-nigh reached the meridian. The bickering which has but recently disturbed the Democratic household has ceased; the loudest and bitterest of Cleveland's defamers and opponents promise now to be his most active and untiring supporters, and the outlook could not well be more encouraging. From this time on until after the votes are cast and counted, there should be nothing but the most generous rivalry among Democrats as to who can win the most votes for the Man of Destiny, the unselfish patriot, the incomparable leader of the Democratic hosts, Grover Cleveland.

Nashville American (Dem.), June 24.—Mr. Cleveland will win because with him as the nominee, standing upon a platform which expresses in unequivocal language the true meaning and the honest purposes of Democracy, the party will go before the American people as a party of principles and of courage. He will win because Tammany Hall, with the eyes of the National Democracy upon it, will not dare to refuse its support. He will win because the Democrats of New York outside of Tammany Hall will give to him their unanimous and enthusiastic support. He will win because the independent voters of New York, who believe in the principles of the Democratic party, but have not yet reached the point where they can forget sectional prejudices and inherited fears, will support him. He will win because the commercial interests of the Empire State will make his success their one object in the campaign. But apart from carrying New York, Mr. Cleveland will bring into the Democratic column other States which have not for many years contributed their electoral votes to the Democratic cause.

Nashville Banner (Dem.), June 23.—The opposition of Tammany has no basis which will justify an effort to defeat Mr. Cleveland or lukewarmness in his support. The extreme silver men cannot justify a refusal to support him if they are Democrats for they will gain nothing by defeating Cleveland and electing

Harrison. Mr. Cleveland is the strongest Democrat that could have been nominated, and if he cannot be elected then no Democrat could be elected this year. The people who will not vote for Mr. Cleveland because they do not like the platform, would not vote for any other Democrat on that platform, and the people who will not vote for Mr. Cleveland as the nominee because they do not agree in all respects with him on the financial question, would probably not be pleased with any other man on other questions. Mr. Cleveland is a strong man, and if his party will support him as it should he will be elected.

Memphis Appeal-Avalanche (Dem.), June 24.—The National Democracy did not owe this nomination to Mr. Cleveland. It was a duty to itself. As no other man in the country, does Mr. Cleveland represent the crystallized policy of true Democracy. He had received the highest honors at the hands of his party, and personally he could not have complained had someone else been chosen; but it so happens he typifies a great idea, and when that idea was in danger from assaults within the party from those who fear their shadows, the people resolved that its great cause should not go down in defeat with the plotted downfall of Grover Cleveland. There has been a good deal of promiscuous indiscretion on the part of some of the oldest leaders of the party. They have undertaken to usurp the functions of the party. They have schemed to turn down the great popular leader and give the party a nominee for whom there was no call. Had they succeeded the rank and file of the Democracy would have felt that they have been tricked, and the party would have gone into battle, broken in confidence, dispirited, without a hope, without a cause. The people are very much like a baby. When the child wants a bottle, don't give it a rattle. When the people want one man for President, don't try to palm off somebody else on them. Some of our most astute politicians would do well to go to the nursery for their wisdom.

Atlanta Journal (Dem.), June 23.—The triumphant nomination of Grover Cleveland is a signal victory of the people over the managing and intriguing politicians. Any other result would have been a flagrant refusal to abide by and carry into effect the preference of the great body of the Democratic party, and would have invited disaster and defeat.

Montgomery Advertiser (Dem.), June 24.—For the first time in the history of the Federal Government a man has been nominated for President for the third time by his party without any effort or seeking on his part. Mr. Cleveland is a most remarkable man, and his hold upon the American people is phenomenal and without parallel. By his sturdy honesty, and uncompromising, unselfish stand for the interest of all the people he has proven that he can be trusted, and his nomination over the opposition of many leaders of his party was in response to an overwhelming sentiment in his favor in all portions of the country, which the most astute of politicians could not overcome. He represents the purest and most elevated elements of politics in the Democratic party, and his record is a platform in itself. His stand for Tariff Reform, for honest money, his dignified and firm foreign policy, and his able and conscientious administration of the affairs of government for four years, are known to the people and have fixed him in their confidence, and they will not be afraid to trust him again. If the Democratic party cannot elect Cleveland there would have been certainly no chance for any other Democrat.

New Orleans New Delta (Dem.), June 24.—Grover Cleveland is undoubtedly the man the Democratic masses want for President of the United States. He has a hold upon their hearts that nothing can shake. The force of that demand has broken down all the logic of the politicians, and overcome all the fears of the timid. Grover Cleveland carried the Convention by storm. The North, the South, the East, and the West have joined

in the grand phalanx of 600 delegates that is now bearing his standard to victory. It is one of the most remarkable exhibitions of the power of the people of recent years. And the leader whom Tammany set up for the Democracy of the nation has shrunk as Cleveland has grown. The comparison between the two men has aroused indignation. Tammany would offer us a machine politician to supplant a statesman. The Democracy will with one voice approve the action of the Convention, and the enthusiasm which prevails at Chicago over the great reformer will spread from State to State and arouse the people to one of the greatest campaigns since the war. It will be the fight of the people against the political rings, and it will win.

New Orleans Times (Dem.), June 23.—Cleveland represents these distinctive ideas of Democracy in perhaps more robust form than any public man of the present day. Frequently has he insisted, in powerful language, on the absolute right of States to manage their own internal affairs, apart from the intervention of the general Government; while his famous last message from the President's chair has been a veritable slogan of Tariff Reform which still echoes from ocean to ocean, and the inspiration of which will never cease until the burden of taxation shall have been shifted from the humble shoulders which have long and unjustly been made to bear it in excess. Cleveland was given the nomination because the people, not the politicians, willed it. And that also is why he will be elected President, because, though he may not have the politicians, he will have the people, on his side. The prospects were never brighter for Democratic success, and with a candidate of Cleveland's popularity victory may be looked upon as assured.

New York Tribune (Rep.), June 24.—Mr. Cleveland's especial weakness is in his own party. He cannot command its whole strength. He will lose thousands of Democratic votes from among that large body of Democrats who regard him as neither the model of holiness his Mugwump worshippers allege, nor as a Democrat, but as a poser and a humbug. They remember his tiresome platitudes, his Pecksniffian moralizings, his dreary murmurings about being overwhelmed with a sense of responsibility, and then they recall the Hon. Eugene Higgins and the Thompson-Hedden régime in the Custom-House, hypocritically offset with Mr. Burt in the Naval Office, and Mr. Pearson in the Post-office. They recall the Fellows letter and different rules of political conduct applied to the Republican Collector in Pennsylvania, and the Democratic Collector in Indiana. They contrast the Civil Service principles applied in Mugwumpian Boston with those applied in Senator Gorman's city of Baltimore, and they will vote, as they think, against a man who is neither one thing nor another; who has neither the courage of good profession nor the courage of bad practice, but who weakly and foolishly attempts to stand out in the light as better than his party, while in the dark playing spoilsman and politician. . . . It is a poor showing for the boastful Free Trade party, which was so sure of victory a year ago. The attempt to capture the Presidency by a trick will not befool as many Republican voters as some men think. The nomination of Cleveland and Stevenson stakes everything on the ability of the Democrats to beguile Republican voters into casting third party votes. We shall see whether sturdy and level-headed voters of the West will be cheated in any such fashion.

Frank Leslie's Weekly (N. Y. Rep.), June 30.—Mr. Cleveland is the distinctive and peculiar representative of the idea of "Tariff Reform." He had the courage to avow his convictions when that avowal was regarded by the cowards of his party as impolitic and dangerous. The nomination of any other Democrat as the party candidate would have been a surrender of this principle, no matter how vigorously it might have been affirmed in

the party platform, in obedience to the demand of expediency. He was the logical candidate, and it speaks well for the sagacity of the controlling minds of the party that the logic of the situation has been recognized.

New York Press (Rep.), June 24.—The nomination of Grover Cleveland at Chicago is fortunate for the Republican party and the country. It removes from the arena of conflict many side issues which, with another candidate, might have served to confuse the minds of American voters as to the merits of the contest. Cleveland stands in the eyes of America and Europe as the chosen champion of Free Trade. Without a trace of the genius of Cobden or a tithe of the intellect of Peel, without a single intelligent conviction on economic principles, he obstinately adheres to the lesson he learned by rote while in the White House. His name is synonymous with the sort of "tariff reform" which means absolute Free Trade in the foreign manufactured products that compete with American industry.

Brooklyn Daily Times (Rep.), June 23.—We do not think that Cleveland is stronger in 1892 than he was in 1888. His halting and selfish course during the past four years; his refusal to take the field for his party when there was a chance that defeat might damage his personal prestige; his eagerness to grasp the credit of victories to which he contributed nothing, have made those his enemies who were his friends four years ago. He has done nothing to gain new adherents; in no direction is he personally stronger than when Harrison met and beat him. In some respects Cleveland is the weakest, in some he is the strongest candidate the Democrats could place in the field. He has not the enthusiastic following among the rank and file of the Democratic party in this State that Hill has; he has not the full confidence of the machine leaders, Croker, McLaughlin, Murphy, and Sheehan, whose favor is essential to success. But the Hill men will vote the ticket, whoever may be on it; they are the stalwarts of the party, who never fail to vote, and to vote the straight ticket. The leaders have everything to gain by Democratic success. They will support the ticket all the more heartily because of their past opposition, to give themselves a claim to recognition if their ticket should prove successful. But in addition Mr. Cleveland can draw, not only votes, but solid financial support from a class of Democrats who would look on Hill's candidacy with suspicion, and who, in the event of the nomination of some Western candidate of doubtful soundness on questions of finance, would withhold their support altogether from the Democratic ticket. Mr. Cleveland is *par excellence* the candidate of the Wall street and Hanover square section of the Democratic party, and that means a campaign fund ample for all legitimate, and also for all illegitimate, purposes.

Brooklyn Standard-Union (Rep.), June 24.—The Democracy seemed to be hoodooed on behalf of Mr. Cleveland. It would have gone the same lengths for him if he had been a gigantic bat. He seemed to hang over the delegations like a monstrous and malignant fate. Great men are scarce in the party. They hadn't anybody but Cleveland of universal reputation. There isn't another Democrat alive who has been President of the United States; and taking together Southern nullification, Massachusetts Mugwump, with the scanty supply of brains required for silver State leadership, the puerile stultifications attendant upon an indefinite and impracticable profession of civil service reform, a hypocritical and mercenary selfishness of the Wall street end of the Democracy and the party has not afforded a soil upon which tall Presidential timber could grow.

Troy Daily Times (Rep.), June 23.—Free Trade will not be the only issue of the campaign, and Cleveland will not stand or fall upon his tariff, or rather no-tariff, ideas alone. His record as President will come in for criticism, and many of his acts will count against

him, as they did in 1888. His vetoes of pensions for deserving veterans have not made friends for him among the old soldiers. He professed the utmost devotion to civil-service reform, but did not hesitate to remove faithful Government employes, and to appoint in their stead Democratic political workers some of whom had criminal records. He solemnly declared that public office is a public trust, but lived up to the true Democratic idea that public office is a party snap. He talked of patriotic devotion to his country, but permitted other nations to treat the United States just as they pleased. In fact, throughout he posed as a high-minded statesman, and, with rare exceptions, performed only as the political workers dictated.

Philadelphia North American (Rep.), June 24.—The nomination of Grover Cleveland for the third time as the Democratic candidate for the Presidency is something far beyond the triumph of political combinations and political management. It is a splendid and honorable tribute to the integrity, the consistency, and the courage of the man who, having honest and earnest convictions concerning public policies, has dared to assert them, regardless of all but his own confidence that his beliefs were right, and for the best interests of his country.

Philadelphia Public Ledger (Ind.-Rep.), June 24.—The ex-President has proved his invincible fidelity to principles, and his countrymen not only honor a brave and honest man, they love him. As Sheriff, Mayor, Governor, President, he did not discriminate between private obligations and public duties. He had, in private and official life, but a single code of morals. When, in 1887, he threw his famous Tariff Reform message before the country, it was a challenge to the thought of the nation. He compelled it to consider a theory by presenting it as a condition. The majority did not agree with him, nor do we believe they do now; but they admired him, as they do now, for the courage of his convictions, for his negation of self, as in throwing down his challenge to the country he threw away his almost certain chance of being reelected in 1888 President of the United States. Mr. Cleveland is one of those Americans who would rather be right than be President.

Cincinnati Times-Star (Rep.), June 24.—A large majority of the Democracy have unbounded faith in Mr. Cleveland and have honored him beyond any other leader, past or present. He stands alone in receiving a nomination after suffering a defeat at the polls, and in the face of having his State delegation solidly against him. His record as a vote-getter, too, is not reassuring. Mr. Cleveland is the Democratic party as far as formality can make him dictator. His tint is the only shade that counts, and his unit rule is absolute on the face of things. The Democratic rainbow is now clearly developed in the sky. It has only one color.

Detroit Tribune (Rep.), June 24.—President Harrison is stronger than four years ago, and Cleveland is weaker.

Detroit News (Rep.), June 23.—Unable to command a single vote from his own State, distinctly repudiated by the delegates therefrom, obliged to go outside it to a State as frequently Republican as Democratic to secure an orator to nominate him, and in violation of the Democratic tradition that no candidate should be considered by the Convention who lacked the endorsement of his own neighbors and immediate fellow-citizens, Grover Cleveland has once more been put in nomination for the Presidency by the Democratic party. This, too, in the face of Mr. Cleveland's eloquent pronouncement early in his national political activity that the President should not be given a second term, in the face of the presence of a number of ambitious candidates, any one of whom could command more strength than he, and in spite of an almost positive assurance that he alone of all the

candidates will fail to carry the Empire State of New York.

Chicago Inter Ocean (Rep.), June 24.—The ticket put in the field by the Democrats is the strongest that they could make. So thoroughly does Mr. Cleveland represent a principle that Mr. Watterson well said of him, "He will be his own platform." Cleveland and Free Trade are synonyms. While the ticket is the strongest that could have been made, we do not consider it as strong. No ticket based upon a Free Trade platform can be strong.

Milwaukee Wisconsin (Rep.), June 23.—In renominating Grover Cleveland the Democratic party has decided to move for a new trial of the case which has been once decided adversely to it by the verdict of the people. Personally Mr. Cleveland's candidacy is highly respectable, and the canvass will hinge not so much on men as on principles, though no Republican would fear the result if it were to depend on the respective merits of the candidates. Cleveland is a better candidate than any of the men who were his competitors for the nomination before the Democratic Convention. As one of the delegates who opposed him epigrammatically remarked, "He is popular every day in the year but one day, and that is election day."

St. Paul Pioneer Press (Rep.), June 24.—The Democratic party has not, in all probability, done the best thing for itself in nominating Mr. Cleveland, but it has relieved the country from the fear of a more unfit and ominous selection.

Omaha Bee (Rep.), June 24.—Mr. Cleveland stands preëminent in the regard of Democrats as the exponent of the idea of Tariff Reform—an idea that is by no means original with him, and which neither he nor any other Democrat has ever clearly defined or given practical application. No well-informed man will pretend that Grover Cleveland is stronger before the country now than he was four years ago. There is not a valid reason for assuming that he can carry any State in 1892 that he lost in 1888. On the contrary there is reason to believe that the list of Democratic States in the last Presidential election will be reduced two or three in the election this year. The policy of which Mr. Cleveland is the most conspicuous representative was freshly submitted to the people in 1888 and was overwhelmingly rejected. The same conditions that gave the Electoral vote of New York to the Republican Presidential candidates in 1888 still prevail, but they are intensified. The Democratic factional conflict in that State has made wounds that will not heal. Cleveland is weaker in New York now than he was four years ago when he received the nomination, and there is no probability that he will make any material gain as the campaign progresses. It is an absurd claim that he can carry any Western or Northwestern State, and if there is any debatable silver State it will be more likely to go Republican than Democratic.

St. Louis Globe-Democrat (Rep.), June 23.—Although Cleveland is unquestionably and emphatically the strongest man in his party, his chances for success at the polls appear to us to be hopeless. He cannot carry New York, and it has been freely conceded by the magnates of his party all along that without that State the Democrats cannot gain the Presidency. In the present strife in the party no New Yorker who had at any time been mentioned in connection with the candidacy could carry his State, while nearly all the Western aspirants have been tainted with the free silver heresy, and with any of them at the head of the ticket New Jersey and Connecticut as well as New York would be lost to their party. Thus defeat confronted the Democrats whatever choice they made in the Convention, but defeat under Cleveland will be less disastrous and discreditable than it would be under any other standard-bearer. Defeat seems to be inevitable in any event.

June 25.—The popularity of Cleveland with the Democratic masses is one of the great

mysteries of American politics. They seem to regard him as the personification of profound and far-reaching wisdom, when it is easy to see that he is a man of only ordinary intelligence. There is nothing in his record to justify the claim that he is exceptionally gifted in any respect. There has never before been such an instance of obstinate devotion to a man after his unworthiness has been practically demonstrated.

FROM DEMOCRATIC PAPERS THAT OPPOSED CLEVELAND'S NOMINATION.

New York Herald, June 24.—We have not favored this nomination and have given ample reasons for our opposition. The Democrats have chosen to take unnecessary risks with the owner of Gray Gables. That they have not been wise is pretty generally admitted, but it is too late to mend matters, and they have nothing left except a fight which will tax their utmost energy and courage.

Brooklyn Citizen, June 23.—A very heavy responsibility has been assumed by the men who chose to nominate Mr. Cleveland despite the judgment of the delegates from this State that he could not be depended on to secure the Electoral vote of New York, but that responsibility is light compared with the burden that would have rested on the shoulders of the minority in the Convention had they, by a policy of stolid resistance, compelled the majority to take up another candidate. The proper work of the morning was finished when they brought home to the mind of the whole Convention all the considerations that properly went to a determination of what was expedient. To have done less than this would have been for the minority to fall short of their duty; to have done more would have been to imperil the very party interests which they desired to promote. As the case now stands we have a result which, whether wise or unwise is unquestionably Democratic, and, therefore, entitled to the unqualified acceptance of every member of the Democratic party. That there will be a little soreness felt for a few days or weeks in certain quarters is to be expected, but what is not to be expected is any final refusal by any person who participated in the Convention or was represented in it to do less than his utmost to crown Mr. Cleveland with victory on Election day. However it may comport with the Mugwumpian sense of honor to accept the rights and still decline the obligations of party Conventions, Democrats may always be trusted to pursue the course prescribed by good faith. For them it is enough to know, apart from any personal predilections, that the authority which was authorized to settle the question has again made Mr. Cleveland the Democratic standard-bearer. They will rally to his support loyally, resolutely, and with a determination to sustain him against every adversary.

Elmira Gazette (Senator Hill's paper), June 23.—The opposition in the State of New York to the nomination of Grover Cleveland was not based upon objection to him as a man nor as a representative of Democratic principles. Inexpediency was the reason the New York State delegation gave the Convention for its firm attitude against the ex-President. The New York Democracy held that another nomination was safer and surer, and persevered in that view to the end. The New York delegation adhered to the view that the Empire State was necessary to Democratic success and proffered their counsel regarding the action most contributive to success. The National Convention, however, proceeded to say that the New York representatives misapprehended the situation both in the country at large and in the State. With Democrats, the question is no longer subject to debate. The National Convention has spoken. It now becomes the Democratic duty to prove that the Democratic delegation from New York was mistaken. The individual boast of the men who sent the Democratic delegation to Chicago is "I am a Democrat." They are capable of proving it

under whatever circumstances may be imposed. They are the men who fight the Democratic battles and win the Democratic victories. They are the men whose zeal is frequently made the cause of criticism. They are the men whose aggressive championship of the Democratic party calls upon them frequent and heavy denunciation by Democratic allies. They will be loyal. Who count on other than firm support of the national nominees by the Democratic organization of New York make a mistake. They will be disappointed. The counsel of the Democracy of New York has been rejected. But submission to the majority is Democratic. The will of the greater number becomes the will of all. Acceptance of the majority decree is a principle first in Democratic respect. Democrats are not emancipated from obedience to it by the failure of others to observe and obey. A political creed and a rule of action are crystallized in "I am a Democrat." It may hang loosely upon others. It is law to the men who sent Roswell P. Flower, William F. Sheehan, Edward Murphy, General Sickles, General Slocum, and their associates to Chicago. This uncompromising loyalty was relied upon by men who have disregarded the counsels of New York. They shall not be disappointed. Threats of mutiny may do for the militia. They are not becoming to soldiers of the line.

Buffalo Times-Republic, June 24.—The Times has shared in the view taken by the party organization of this State that the divisions here existing made the nomination of ex-President Cleveland an inexpedient one. Representatives of the National Democracy were fully informed of the dangers which the situation offered and took the responsibility which their duty commanded. Having exhausted every honorable means to prevent a nomination, then thought to be unwise, it is now the plain duty to fall in line for a hearty and continuous support.

Cincinnati Enquirer (Boss McLean's paper), June 24.—We're wid ye! Yez ken jes' betcher sweet life! There's no insects on us; see? We's up wid de lark; savvy? We're fur de people what's right, and don't yez furgit it; do yez twig? Let every mother's son put his shoulder to the spokes and help elect the superb ticket nominated at Chicago. Cleveland and Stevenson are all right and must be landed.

Chicago Herald, June 24.—In nominating Grover Cleveland for the Presidency in spite of the fact that he was not the choice of his own State and in the face of the further fact that every delegate from his State proclaimed his weakness as a candidate, the National Democratic Convention has assumed a grave responsibility. It is a responsibility which no National Convention of any party ever before accepted, but it is a responsibility for which the Democratic party outside of New York State is alone accountable and for which it alone will be judged.

Chicago Times, June 24.—In its wisdom the Democratic party has decreed that the nominee of the Convention this year shall be Grover Cleveland of New York. The conclusion was reached despite the statement of New York delegates upon the floor of the Convention that Cleveland's success in that State was impossible. It becomes, then, the duty of the Democratic party, in the endeavor to elect its nominee, to choose the logical battleground, which is the Northwest. Effort may properly be made to hold New York, but reliance must be had upon the canvass in Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan.

Birmingham Age-Herald, June 23.—The issue is made, and Grover Cleveland, with his record of courage and honesty and economy and low taxes, faces Benjamin Harrison and the Billion-dollar Congress and the Force Bill and the McKinley Tariff Law. The New York delegation went down with their colors flying after a brave and manly fight against unconquerable odds, and in the coming struggle the organized Democracy of that great State will

carry the weight of the struggle and carry it loyally.

Memphis Index-Appeal, June 25.—When the Chicago Convention nominated Mr. Cleveland it had practically completed its work. Then the sole object of the Democratic press and leaders should have been to bring together every element in the party; to eradicate as far as possible all bitterness growing out of a heated contest, to soften all asperities and prevent those outbursts of fractional triumph which, while harmless and inane in themselves, are yet liable to be misunderstood and to retard the development of perfect harmony of thought and unity of action. We believe that every Virginia Democrat who realizes the situation will give Mr. Cleveland his vote and will support him through thick and thin.

Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle, June 24.—Democracy stands before the country to-day in a stronger attitude, and with brighter promise of success, than since the promulgation of Cleveland's famous tariff reform message. The country is now educated upon the wisdom of that policy, and the man and the occasion meet in Grover Cleveland. Stevenson, backed by Palmer's influence, adds Illinois to the doubtful States. Senator Hill will see that New York goes for Cleveland.

New Orleans Picayune, June 23.—He is the people's candidate, and it is incumbent upon the people to elect him.

FROM MR. CLEVELAND'S MUGWUMP FRIENDS.

New York Times, June 14.—The party has rewarded the patience and gratified the hopes with which its struggles for salvation have been sympathetically watched. It has done much more than that—it has shown that it was worth saving; it has demonstrated that the great body, the controlling majority, of its membership, are loyal, patriotic, and progressive Americans, as good citizens as their Republican brethren, and not less worthy to be trusted with the powers of the Government. The worship of political idols may be a fruitless cult, but if a party is to have idols, they must be good ones or the party will gain no credit for its piety; they must be exalting, or it will not be lifted up. Undoubtedly it has been a liberal education and a visible exaltation for the Democratic party to have accepted the political guidance of Grover Cleveland for these eight years. It is better and sounder, worthier of trust, and more widely trusted for that evidence of its wisdom.

New York Evening Post, June 23.—The nomination of Mr. Cleveland is the most encouraging political event which has occurred in this country since the war. In many respects it resembles the second nomination of Lincoln, for, like that, it has been compelled by the people in spite of the combined opposition of the professional politicians. Every patriotic American, no matter what his political affiliations may be, has reason to rejoice over it, for it is at once a triumph for our methods of selecting Presidential candidates, and an immediate and, we trust, permanent uplifting of the level of our political discussion. It gives assurance that the campaign before us will be one of the most creditable ever conducted in this country. He is to-day not merely its nominee, but its platform. He has brought it to his position both on the tariff and on silver, and in doing this has performed a service of inestimable value to the country.

Providence Journal, June 24.—There can be no denial of the ex-President's remarkable popularity with all classes of citizens. He enjoys in an exceptional degree the respect and confidence of both capitalists and wage-workers and not more the eager seekers for a popular hero to worship than the cool students of men and deeds. This feeling toward the Democratic candidate, together with the knowledge of the safe and conservative Administration he gave the country, will no doubt lead many men to vote the Democratic ticket who would not have done so if almost any other Democrat

had been put at its head. The personal element cannot be altogether obscured by any question of political principle, and the Democrats have shown practical wisdom in selecting a candidate who is one of the most popular Americans, personally, now living.

Puck (New York), June 29.—The nomination of Mr. Cleveland at Chicago gives promise for the coming campaign of some things that must be agreeable to all good citizens, without distinction of party—of a contest that may and should be conducted on both sides with decency and self-respect, and with a general avoidance, at least so far as the principals are concerned, of unworthy and unprofitable personalities. But, above all, the people of New York ought to welcome Mr. Cleveland's nomination, in view of the circumstances under which it was made; for it brings about a situation which has long been inevitable, yet long delayed. It brings the people face to face with the wrong of Tammany.

Harper's Weekly, July 2.—Mr. Cleveland's nomination is the boldest stroke in the history of such assemblies. It is emphatically the victory of honest public opinion over political trickery and intrigues, and, as we have hinted, it is an event of the best significance in the annals of the Democratic party. Every man who honors political conviction, courage, and fidelity, and who shares Mr. Cleveland's views of public questions, will feel a certain moral enthusiasm in promoting his election, and his party leaders in New York who have been humiliated by his triumphant nomination will be held to the strictest account by their fellow-Democrats in the State.

THE VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE.

New York Herald (Ind.-Dem.), June 24.—Mr. Stevenson is not unknown in political circles, and wherever known is respected. He will strengthen the ticket, and may be able to wheel his own State into line when the pinch of circumstances is felt.

New York Sun (Dem.), June 25.—Stevenson is a Democrat, and no doubt of it! He proved it when he held office under Mr. Cleveland's Administration, and won the hearty hatred of the Mugwumps by his fidelity to the old-fashioned prejudice against the bestowal of offices upon the enemies of the party in power. As First Assistant Postmaster-General he was styled the axeman of the Cleveland Administration. The title is a badge of honor, and he may wear it proudly in the coming battle for Democratic principles. His nomination strengthens the party's chances of carrying Illinois, and, we may add, of securing the indispensable electoral vote of New York. His name on the ticket is a good guarantee against humbug, nonsense, and cant. TURN THE RASCALS OUT!

New York Times, June 24.—Adlai E. Stevenson is easier to carry than Isaac P. Gray. Mr. Gray, we understand, is an inspiring and powerful person in Indiana. A few days ago we were in dread lest he might be named as the Democratic candidate for Vice-President. This, perhaps, is due to overeducation and our propinquity to the effete monarchies. Mr. Stevenson, we are aware, was an athletic headman during the Administration of Mr. Cleveland. It is a comforting sign of the growth in grace of the Democratic Party that he is now, if the party succeeds, to be reduced to a condition of perfectly innocuous desuetude. Moreover, Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson is a man of brains. On a "show-down" of Vice-Presidential candidates the Democrats, it strikes us, are ahead.

Washington Post (Ind.-Rep.), June 24.—The Post wishes to see the ensuing Presidential campaign fought to a finish only upon the broad plane of principle. Protection and tariff reform are the distinctive issues, no matter how disguised in the platitudinous verbiage of the respective party platforms. Harri-

son and Cleveland are their representatives. Both are able gentlemen, and both, while filling the great office of President of the United States, have given the country good, honest Administrations. Let the party managers eschew personalities. Show the young men in politics, and the possible voters in the ranks of the rising generation, what an old-fashioned political campaign for principle meant. Elevate it above a mere "spoils-of-office" hunt. Let it be a campaign of education.

New York Morning Advertiser (Ind.), June 24.—His chief distinction comes from the indorsement given him by delegate Rhea in seconding his nomination: "I support Stevenson, because I understand that he is a man who believes that to the victors belong the spoils." In his official career Mr. Stevenson demonstrated his belief in this theory, contrary to the declaration of his pretentious chieftain.

Indianapolis Sentinel (Dem.), June 24.—Indiana Democrats would have been better pleased had their honored leader, Isaac P. Gray, been the choice of the Democratic Convention for the second place on the national ticket. It is useless to attempt to disguise the keen disappointment felt by Indiana Democrats, though it is a pleasure to know that the least disappointed Democrat in Indiana is the one most directly and personally interested. To the nomination made—that of Gen. Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois—there can be raised not the slightest objection in any quarter. A brave soldier, an ardent patriot, an able lawyer, an efficient Congressman, a skilled executive officer, a life-long, unswerving Democrat, his name will bring strength to the ticket and enthusiasm to the hearts of the Democratic masses. Stevenson's name on the ticket is almost an absolute assurance that the Electoral vote of Illinois will be found in the Democratic column when the votes shall have been counted.

Indianapolis News (Ind.), June 24.—The Democratic Vice-Presidential nomination adds force and finish to the work that preceded it in the President chosen and platform adopted. The Convention did as the *News* expressed the hope that it would do, in speaking to the unfitness of Mr. Gray for the place, preserve itself unwearied in well-doing, and with the same strength that had been proof against the politicians and manipulators in the choice of a Presidential candidate, refused: "To relapse from right action to expediency and give away the Vice-Presidency as a thing about which there is little necessity to be particular." Maintaining itself in this way the end crowned the work, in that there was chosen a man who embodied the principles of the party, a man of character, ability, and experience. It was a victory for better things in politics, passing by baser elements on the one hand, and a token of purer things passing by money on the other.

THE PLATFORM.

New York Herald (Ind.-Dem.), June 24.—The platform is squarely representative of Democratic principles. It is right on the tariff, right on silver, and right in its denunciation of Republican extravagance. It has already commended itself to the good sense of those who have carefully read it, and will still further commend itself when we get into the thick of the battle.

Richmond Times (Dem.), June 24.—A better platform than that presented to the country by the Chicago Convention has never been framed by any political party in the United States. Its tariff reform doctrines are outspoken and to the point, and are the same which swept the country so overwhelmingly in 1890. Its financial plank is sound and conservative, and should meet the approval of all classes of the people, and its general tenor is for the promotion of the welfare of the land and the protection and preservation of the people's rights and liberties. What is more to the

point, too, the party that adopted it meant every word they said.

THE TARIFF.

We denounce the Republican Protection as a fraud, a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties, except for the purposes of revenue only, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of the Government when honestly and economically administered.

The platform also denounces the McKinley Act as "the culminating atrocity of class legislation," and denounces "the sham reciprocity which juggles with the people's desire for enlarged foreign markets and freer exchanges by pretending to establish closer trade relations for a country whose articles of export are almost exclusively agricultural products, with other countries that are also agricultural, while erecting a custom-house barrier of prohibitive tariff taxes against the richest countries of the world that stand ready to take our entire surplus of products, and to exchange therefor commodities which are necessities and comforts of life among our own people."

New York World (Dem.), June 24.—The tariff plank as drawn by the Committee after long consultations was a tedious treatise. The Convention changed it into a crisp statement of truth. It was carefully designed to conceal the party's principles, to disguise its purposes, to apologize for and explain away its convictions on the dominant issue of the time. The Convention rejected the unworthy juggle of words. It cut out the hypocrisy and put manly straightforwardness in its stead. The "compromise" was a shifty utterance of politicians to avoid offense to undemocratic Democrats. The Convention made it a plain statement of the meaning of honest men.

Baltimore Sun (Dem.), June 24.—The delegates showed that they knew better than the would-be leaders what the people wanted. They wanted a clear-cut declaration and no jumble of phrases that would enable a "Protectionist Democrat" in the House or Senate to defend his votes for Protectionist measures, and they got it.

Philadelphia Press (Rep.), June 23.—It is as it ought to be. The issue cannot be evaded, obscured, or misrepresented. It is Harrison and Protection vs. Cleveland and Free Trade. The Democratic message of the ex-President is made the shibboleth of his party. It defeated him once, and will defeat him again. The Free Trade attitude of the party is accentuated and illustrated by the clause which it struck out of the original tariff plank. That justified a measure of Protection sufficient to cover the difference between wages in this country and wages abroad. But the keen-scented, simon-pure Democrats recognized this at once as Republican doctrine, and would have none of it. Their party has tried shams and subterfuges before, and was defeated in spite of them. Now it raises their true colors, and throws itself upon the country as the acknowledged party of Free Trade.

New York Morning Advertiser (Ind.), June 23.—Tariff Reform, under the great Cleveland, means the gradual extinction of all tariff and a frictionless return to Free Trade. Tariff for revenue means no Protection. The issue is joined, and it means Democratic defeat.

SILVER.

We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman Act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discrimination against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards for legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and

redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

New York World (Dem.), June 24.—The Democratic silver plank is far sounder and better than the Republican from every point of view. The Republicans will get more than they want of the silver issue before the campaign is ended.

New York Sun (Dem.), June 25.—Both parties are precluded from any legislation which will lower the unit of value below that of the gold dollar, but the Democrats affirmatively promise, besides, a repeal of the act of July 14, 1890, which is slowly working out the result which the silver men desire to produce immediately by the unrestricted coinage of silver. The Democratic position is, therefore, more favorable to gold and less so to silver than that of the Republicans.

Denver News (leading Democratic free silver organ), June 25.—The Presidency is the pivot upon which the success or defeat of the [silver] cause must turn. Congress has stood ready for nineteen years to restore free coinage if the country's Presidents had been favorable. The defeat has invariably come either through vetoes or adverse influences from the White House. Until a President favorable to it is elected free coinage is hopeless. The opposing candidates are determined and avowed opponents of free coinage. The platforms upon which they were nominated impose no moral obligations upon either to sign a free coinage bill, therefore we know neither will do so, even should Congress pass one. This being the incontestable truth, the *News*, guided in all things by its convictions, cannot support the candidacy of either. The *News* has the courage of its convictions, and will not hesitate to maintain it. Whatever Presidential candidate it advocates, must be pledged to approve a free coinage bill. For it to do otherwise would be to cheat the people, and this it will not be guilty of.

New York Tribune (Rep.), June 23.—Nor is there anything honest in the declaration regarding silver. Everybody knows that the great majority of the Convention was disposed to adopt an unequivocal free silver platform, the more because Mr. Cleveland was to be nominated. But his orders seem to have been in the way. The resolution is one which can be interpreted for or against free coinage, though there is no reason whatever in the construction which would make the platform inoffensive to conservative business men. If it is honest in any respect, the platform means free coinage of silver. If it is not, people need not very much care what it means. . . . It is a free silver platform, with a trickery in the form of utterance which Mr. Cleveland ought to resent and repel as an insult.

Philadelphia Press (Rep.), June 23.—The nomination of Cleveland will be accepted by a host of people as giving the Democratic party, like the Republican, a Presidential nominee who may be trusted to veto a bill for the free coinage of silver.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), June 25.—Each of these [Republican and Democratic silver planks] are declarations in favor of honest money, and the wording of the Democratic plank is even stronger in that direction than the other.

New York Times, June 24.—The vague force of party opinion, the very vagueness of which made it formidable to those who dared not face and test it, has at last been faced and tested, and is no longer formidable. And for this the whole country is indebted to the simple honesty, the modest, but unyielding, manliness of Mr. Cleveland. It is fitting that in the campaign in which he has reduced to relative unimportance the free silver faction that had so long, so insolently, and so needlessly dominated American politics the people should have the opportunity to honor him, as we believe that they will.

THE "FORCE BILL" ISSUE.

[The first plank of the platform, after the introductory platform, is a long and severe arraignment of the Republican party for "the policy of Federal control of elections . . . fraught with the greatest dangers, scarcely less momentous than would result from a revolution practically establishing monarchy on the ruins of the Republic."]

New York Sun (Dem.), June 24.—It makes no difference who may be the President whom the Republican party elects—since Mr. Blaine is now permanently out of the line of power—that party is by its nature and traditions under the necessity of enacting and executing an election law whose purpose and effect will be to put the negroes in control of several of the Southern States. There will be some unwillingness on the part of a patriotic minority among the Republicans who will revolt at the consequences of such a measure, but their opposition cannot avail. The necessity of the situation will suppress all such resistance. A Force Bill is the first, and the inevitable result of a sweeping Republican victory in November. On the other hand, and by the nature and necessity of the ideas involved, the success of the Democracy is death to the Force Bill project. Killed in this election, it can never be revived. In this view of the contest what conscientious Democrat can hesitate about his duty? Better vote for the liberty and the white government of the Southern States, even if the candidate were the Devil himself, rather than consent to the election of respectable Benjamin Harrison with a Force Bill in his pocket. This is the call which summons to the old Democratic flag every Democrat. This is the essential part of the platform on which Grover Cleveland was nominated at Chicago yesterday morning, fairly, squarely, and honorably, and by the votes of more than two-thirds of the Democratic delegates.

June 25.—Democrats, stand by your colors and support your ticket, notwithstanding that the enemies of Democracy, these insolent and pharisaic Mugwumps, exult and abuse you while they pretend to follow the same flag and advocate the same ticket. We may hate such outrageous and lying allies, but we must not allow their malice and their insolence to deter us from saving the South and maintaining the cause of State rights and free elections.

New York Tribune (Rep.), June 23.—The Democratic platform at the very outset shamefully misrepresents the Election Bill, pretending that this measure was designed to deprive the people of their right of self-government. The truth is that no other measure yet favored by the Republican majority, in either House of the last Congress was more carefully guarded than this. Its sole object was to secure free and fair elections, and it is against free and fair elections that the Democrats most passionately protest.

VARIOUS ASPECTS.

OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

The Democratic party is the only party that has ever given the country a foreign policy consistent and vigorous, compelling respect abroad, and inspiring confidence at home. While avoiding entangling alliances, it has aimed to cultivate friendly relations with other nations, and especially with our American neighbors on the American continent, whose destiny is closely linked with our own, and we view with alarm the tendency to a policy of irritation and bluster which is liable at any time to confront us with the alternative of humiliation or war. We favor the maintenance of a navy strong enough for all purposes of national defense, and to properly maintain the honor and dignity of the country abroad.

THE NEW YORK MANIFESTO.

The following is the statement issued by the "regular" New York delegation at Chicago, and signed by every member of the delegation:

Rooms of the New York State Delegation, Chicago, June 20, 1892.

In reply to inquiries addressed to us by delegates from four States instructed to vote for Mr. Grover Cleveland, of New York, the delegates of New York, with a due sense of responsibility to the Democracy of the United States, are constrained to make answer that in our best judgment Mr. Cleveland's nomination would imperil the success of the party and would expose it to the loss of the Electoral vote of the State.

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 Scriptures (The), The Structure of, and their Deeper Meaning. James Reed. *New Jerusalem Mag.*, July, 12 pp.
 Septuagint (The) and Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament. James M. Ludlow, D.D. *Homiletic Rev.*, July, 5 pp. Christ's frequent quotations from the Septuagint render it the authoritative version.
 Theosophy. Bishop J. M. Thoburn, D.D. (Calcutta). *Meth. Rev.*, July-August, 12 pp. Describes how the Society was founded on Madam Blavatsky's clumsy, juggling tricks.

SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY.

- Anschauung, What Does (It) Mean? Dr. Paul Carus. *The Monist*, July, 7 pp. Discusses the best English equivalent to convey Kant's idea: Intuition or Contemplation.
 Eye (the), The Pupil of, as a Factor in Expression. Samuel Wilks, M.D. *Mag. of Art*, July, 3 pp.
 Magic Square (The). Prof. Hermann Schubert. *The Monist*, July, 25 pp. Treats of the so-called magic squares, in which the sum of the figures taken vertically, horizontally, or diagonally is the same and attributes it to a symphonic harmony in mathematics.
 Mars, Theodore F. Wright. *New Jerusalem Mag.*, July, 9 pp. Considers the article in the *Westermann's Monats-Hefte* in its bearing on the revelations of Swedenborg.
 Mind, The Law of. Charles S. Peirce. *The Monist*, July, 27 pp.
 Monism, Our. The Principles of a Consistent, Unitary World-View. Prof. Ernst Haeckel. *The Monist*, July, 7 pp.
 Pierce's (Charles S.) Onslaught on the Doctrine of Necessity. Dr. Paul Carus. *The Monist*, July, 24 pp. A thoughtful comparison of determinism and indeterminism in their several bearings on the conception of God.
 Rationalism. Is It Rational? Rev. R. T. Stevenson. *Meth. Rev.*, July-August, 12 pp.
 Spencer (Mr.) on the Ethics of Kant. Dr. Paul Carus. *The Monist*, July, 16 pp.

SOCIOLOGICAL.

- Black Monster (a), A Tilt at. Mary Elizabeth Blake. *N. A. Rev.*, July, 2 pp. Criticizes the custom of wearing mourning.
 Canada (Upper), Marriage in, 100 Years Ago. *The Manitoban*, June, 2 pp.
 End of the Age (the), The Young Man in. W. J. Dawson. *The Young Man*, June. He is recommended not to sacrifice health and leisure in his efforts to keep up with the procession.
 Esquimaux (The) of the East Coast of Hudson's Bay. *The Manitoban*, June, 4 pp. Interesting notes of the habits and life of these people, snow-huts, etc.
 Labor (Organized) in the Campaign. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor. *N. A. Rev.*, July, 6 pp.
 London Society, Lady Jeune on. W. A. Mallock. *N. A. Rev.*, July, 12 pp.
 Moses as a Political Economist. F. N. Carver. *Meth. Rev.*, July-August, 8 pp. Suggests that we have retrograded in the science of taxation since Moses's day.
 Northwest (the New), The Needs of. William R. Merriam (Governor of Minnesota). *N. A. Rev.*, July, 4 pp.
 South (the), Lynch Law in. The Hon. Fred. Douglass. *N. A. Rev.*, July, 8 pp. A severe arraignment of the custom of lynching negroes.

UNCLASSIFIED.

- Bench, Humor of the. Clark Bell. *The Green Bag*, June, 5 pp.
 Black Forest (From the) to the Black Sea. Part VI. F. D. Millett. *Harper's Mag.*, July, 16 pp. Illus.
 Conoe Life. W. P. Stephens. *Lippincott's Mag.*, July, 6 pp.
 Centuries, The Beginnings and Endings of. Count Charles de Mont. *Chautauquan*, July, 4 pp.
 Chicago, The Great Exposition at. Noble Canby. *Chautauquan*, July, 10 pp.
 Common Law (Early), Short Studies in. II. Rents-Charge. William G. Hammond. *Green Bag*, June, 9 pp.
 Dawson Route, Military Expedition. By a Private of the Force. *Manitoban*, June, 4 pp. Continued.
 Egypt and Palestine, Prehistoric Times in. Sir J. William Dawson. *N. A. Rev.*, July, 15 pp.
 Florence (The) of the English Poets. Grace Ellery Channing. *The Californian*, July, 9 pp. The Florence as seen with a foreign poet's eyes, as contrasted with the Florence of Italian history.
 Food and War. William O. Stoddard. *Food*, July, 11 pp. On the organization of food-supplies for great bodies of men.
 Foods, The Nutritive Value of. Lewis G. Janes, M.D. *Food*, July, 4 pp.
 Hay-Fever as an Idiosyncrasy. J. M. Cooper, M.D. *Chautauquan*, July, 4 pp. Treats of the disease as an idiosyncrasy, and of the proving cause (pollen).
 Indiana, Supreme Court of. II. W. W. Thornton. *Green Bag*, June, 26 pp. With full-page group of the present Bench.
 Insomnia, A Struggle with. Frank Barley Millard. *Overland Monthly*, July, 6 pp.
 Kakuya Himé, The Story of. Mrs. Flora Best Harris. *Chautauquan*, July, 8 pp. A Japanese fairy-tale.
 Khu-En-Aten, Abandoned Archives of. Rev. J. N. Fradenburgh, D.D. *Meth. Rev.*, July-August, 7 pp. Egyptian archives promising to throw light on Biblical chronology.
 Lake County (Through), in a Six-in-hand. George Charles Brookes. *The Californian*, July, 14 pp. Illustrated by Denslow & Dahlgren.
 Law, The Hustling. Percy Edwards. *Green Bag*, June, 2 pp.
 Modoc War (The)—Its Origin, Incidents, and Peculiarities. James Jackson, Major 2d Cavalry. *United Service*, July, 12 pp.
 Morning Tub (The). Gordon Stables, M.D., C.M., R.N. *Young Man*, June, 3 pp. One of a Series of Health Sermons.
 Mosquito Fleet (The). William G. Morrow. *Overland Monthly*, July, 10 pp.
 Mysore, The Capture of Wild Elephants in. R. Caton Woodville. *Harper's Mag.*, July, 17 pp. Illus.
 Overland by the Southern Pacific. Fannie C. W. Barbour. *Chautauquan*, July, 12 pp.
 Pacific (the) Game Fishes of. Henry T. Payton. *The Californian*, July, 5 pp. With illustration, Hooking the Yellow Tail.
 Paris, The Humours of a Scamper to. Rev. J. Reid Howatt. *Young Man*, June, 5 pp.
 Peary's North-Greenland Expedition and the Relief. W. E. Hughes and Benjamin Sharp. *Lippincott's Mag.*, July, 10 pp.
 Phoenix, Arizona. E. S. Gill, Adjutant-General of Arizona. *The Californian*, July, 22 pp. Fully illustrated.
 Pompeii. J. J. Peatfield. *The Californian*, July, 17 pp. Fully illustrated by photographs.
 Quebec (Historic). Edith Sessions Tupper. *Chautauquan*, July, 8 pp.
 Questions of the Day. *The Californian*, July, 2 pp. Discusses the Yosemite Valley, San Francisco, the Japanese Raid, Summer Resorts, and Charity.
 Ratio (The): What Shall It Be? Senator Stewart, of Nevada; Representative Springer, of Illinois; Senator Hansborough, of North Dakota; Representative Bland, of Missouri; Representative Dalzell, of Pennsylvania. *N. A. Rev.*, July, 16 pp.
 Red River Expedition of 1870. Continued. By an Officer of the Force. *The Manitoban*, June, 4 pp. Continuation.

Reporter, The English. Edward Porritt. *N. A. Rev.*, July, 3 pp.
 Rome, Ancient, Gambling and Cheating in. Rodolfo Lauciani. *N. A. Rev.*, July, 9 pp.
 San Joaquin Valley, Rabbit Driving in. Charles S. Greene. *Overland Monthly*, July, 9 pp.
 Southern Californian Mountain Railroad (A). Olaf Ellison. *The Californian*, July, 23 pp. Description of the Pasadena Line, with illustrations.
 Tortugas (At the Dry) During the War. A Lady's Journal. *The Californian*, July, 6 pp.
 Trove, By Right of. Julie M. Lipman. *Overland Monthly*, July, 10 pp.
 Warship Construction (Recent). Henry Lawrence Swinburne. *United Service*, July, 13 pp.
 Washington, Lumbering in. F. I. Vassault. *Overland Monthly*, July, 10 pp.
 Yosemite, In the. Charles T. Gordon. *The Californian*, July, 17 pp. Illustrated from paintings by Thor, Dahlgren, Brown, and from photographs by Taber.

GERMAN.

SCIENCE.

Abstemiousness in Diet. Prof. Dr. C. Heinrich Kisch. *Die Gartenlaube*, Leipzig, June, 3 pp.
 Caloric as a Breeder of Epidemics. L. Mann. *Der Stein der Weisen*, Vienna, June, 4 pp. On the evil of engendering too much heat in the system.
 City Refuse, Destruction and Utilization of, in England. *Der Stein der Weisen*, Vienna, June, 1 p.
 Electricity, Melting and Soldering By. E. de Fodor. *Der Stein der Weisen*, Vienna, June, 6 pp.
 Flying-Apparatus (The Newest). V. Freudenberg. *Der Stein der Weisen*, Vienna, June, 4 pp. Illustr. Discusses Trouve's Bird-generator-Motor Propeller and Aerial Velocipedes.
 Insects, The Voice-Mechanism of. Illus. Prof. Franz Müller. *Der Stein der Weisen*, Vienna, June, 6 pp.
 Intelligence (the), Concerning the Nature and Substance of. G. Rümlin. *Deutsche Rundschau*, Berlin, June, 16 pp.
 Reicher (Herr) and Realism. Paul Schleuther. *Die Nation*, Berlin, June, 1 p.
 Watches, The Demagnetization of. E. Gelsich. *Der Stein der Weisen*, Vienna, June, 1 p.
 Wire-Tramway (The) on the San Salvador, near Lugani. V. Freudenberg. *Der Stein der Weisen*, Vienna, June, 1½ pp.

SOCIOLOGICAL.

Berlin, Police and Crime in. Paul Lidennberg. *Die Gartenlaube*, Leipzig, June, 4 pp.
 Colonial Policy and its Expedients. Vice-Admiral Batsch. *Deutsche Rundschau*, Berlin, June, 14 pp.

Books of the Week.

AMERICAN.

Arctics and Tropics, Through. Around the World by a New Path for a New Purpose. Harry W. French. D. Lothrop Co., Boston. Illus. \$1.
 Bull Calf (The), and Other Stories. A. B. Frost. Chas. Scribner's Sons. Oblong, \$1.
 Calmire. A novel. Macmillan & Co. Cloth, \$1.50.
 Canada (Northern), The Barren Ground of Warburton Pike. Macmillan & Co. With maps. Cloth, \$2.
 Carlyle, Conversations and Correspondence with. Sir Charles Gavan Duffy. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.75.
 Chile. A History of. Latin-American Republics. Anson Uriel Hancock. Charles H. Sergel, Chicago. Cloth, Illus., \$2.50.
 Downfall (The). (La'Debacle.) A Story of the Franco-Prussian War. Emile Zola. Cassell Pub. Co. Cloth, Illus., \$1.50.
 Down in Dixie. Stanton P. Allen. D. Lothrop Co., Boston. Cloth, Illus., \$1.25.
 Earth-Burial and Cremation. The History of Earth-Burial, with Its Attendant Evils, and the Advantages Offered by Cremation. A. G. Cobb. G. P. Putnam's Sons. Cloth, Illus., \$1.
 Famous Pets. Eleanor Lewis. D. Lothrop Co., Boston. Cloth, Illus., \$3.
 Greek History, New Chapters in: Historical Results of Recent Excavations in Greece and Asia Minor. Percy Gardner. G. P. Putnam's Sons. Cloth, \$5.
 Hibbert Lectures for 1892. Lectures on Origin and Growth of the Conception of God as Illustrated by Anthropology and History. Count Goblet d'Alviella. Prof. of the History of Religion at the University at Brussels. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.
 Italian Child-Life; or Marietta's Good Times. Marietta Ambrosi. D. Lothrop Co., Boston. Cloth, Illus., 75c.
 Jesus, The Teachings of. Prof. Heinrich Wendt, D.D., Prof. of Theology, Heidelberg. Trans. by the Rev. J. Wilson. Chas. Scribner's Sons. 2 vols. each \$2.50.
 Keene (Charles Samne, of Punch). Life and Letters of. George Somer Layard. With portrait and numerous reproductions of the artist's sketches. Macmillan & Co. \$3.
 Lincoln (Abraham) and Men of War Times: Some Personal Recollections of War and Politics During the Lincoln Administration. A. H. McClure. J. W. Keeler & Co., Phila. Cloth, Illus., \$2.
 Literature, Masterpieces of. D. Lothrop Co., Boston, \$3.
 Matter, Ether, and Motion; the Factors and Relations of Physical Science. A. E. Dolbear. Lee & Shepard, Boston. Cloth, Illus., \$1.75.
 Music and Its Masters. Anton Rubenstein. Charles H. Sergel & Co., Chicago. Vellum, \$1.
 Norway and the Norwegians. C. F. Keary. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.
 Naulakah (The); A Story of the West and East. Rudyard Kipling and Wolcott Balastier. Macmillan & Co. Cloth, gilt, \$1.50.
 Peru, A History of. Latin-American Republics. Clements R. Markham. Charles H. Sergel & Co., Chicago. Cloth, Illus., \$2.50.
 Shadows of the Stage. William Winter. Macmillan & Co. Cloth, 75c.
 United States (the), The Constitutional and Political History of. From the German of Herman von Holst. Callaghan & Co. Vol. VII., 1859-1861. Cloth, \$3.50.
 Wrecker (The). Robert Louis Stevenson and Lloyd Osbourne. Charles Scribner's Sons. Cloth, Illus., \$1.25.

Current Events.

Wednesday, June 22.

The Senate continues debate on the Free Coinage Bill; Mr. Davis introduces a Bill for retaliation against China.....The House discusses the General Deficiency Bill.....The Democratic National Convention adopts a platform, including a tariff resolution substituted for that reported by the committee; the names of Cleveland, Hill, and Boies are regularly placed before the Convention; late in the night session, Mr. Cleveland is nominated for President on the first ballot.....The Vermont Republican Convention nominates Colonel L. K. Fuller for Governor.....Commencement exercises at Brown, Union, Williams, and other colleges.....In Buffalo, N. Y., E. S. Dann, Treasurer of the National Savings Bank, is found to be a defaulter to a large amount, and is arrested.....A receiver for the Richmond Terminal Company is appointed.....The Iron League of iron manufacturers threaten to force 50,000 men out of work.

Ravachol, Anarchist and bomb-thrower, is convicted of murder and sentenced to death.....It is stated that Norway is likely to have separate consular representation.....Mr. Gladstone, in conference with McCarthyite leaders, predicts a large majority at the general elections.....McCarthyite leaders appeal to Irishmen in America for funds.

Thursday, June 23.

In the Senate, the Agricultural Appropriation Bill, and the Nicaragua Canal are discussed.....The House meets and adjourns without doing any business.....The Democratic National Convention nominates Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, for Vice-President and adjourns.....Telegrams of congratulatory shower upon Mr. Cleveland, at his summer residence on Buzzard's Bay.

Mr. Gladstone issues his election address.....The Empire Trade League holds a conference in London.....The revolt in Afghanistan assumes serious proportions.....Prince Bismarck and family leave Vienna.....The Marquis de Mores kills Captain Mayer in a duel in France.

Friday, June 24.

The House of Representatives meets and adjourns without doing any business.....Disastrous floods in Illinois.....The sesqui-centennial celebration of the founding of Bethlehem, Pa., begins.....Cleveland has a street-railroad strike; some violence is used.....Monmouth County, N. J., is visited by a tornado.....In New York City, two more physicians sever their connection with the Health Board.....Excise Commissioner Koch succeeds in securing the indictment of the Rev. Thomas Dixon, Jr., for criminal libel.

It is announced that Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule scheme differs somewhat in detail from that of 1886.....Mr. Balfour, Government leader in the House of Commons, issues his election address.....Prince Bismarck reaches Munich at 2 A.M., and is welcomed by a large and enthusiastic crowd of people.....The Marquis de Mores is arrested for causing the death of Captain Mayer.

Saturday, June 25.

The House of Representatives meets and adjourns without doing business.....A collision on the Pennsylvania road at Harrisburg kills eleven persons and injures many others.....Adlai E. Stevenson denies that he was a member of the Knights of the Golden Circle.....In New York City, the Iron League discharges 1,000 housesmiths; it is believed that a bitter labor war will result.

While driving in Chester, Mr. Gladstone is hit in the face by a piece of hard gingerbread thrown by a woman, and one of his eyes somewhat injured.....Queen Victoria greatly enjoys a performance of the Wild West Show at Windsor Castle, and makes valuable presents to "Buffalo Bill" and his manager.....The King and Queen of Italy conclude their visit to the German Emperor.....It is said that German support has been pledged to Italian finances.....In Paris, Capt. Henry Borup, attached to the American Legation, is accused of selling to Germany and Italy information concerning the French defenses.

Sunday, June 26.

Seven persons are drowned, many injured, and a vast amount of property destroyed by floods in the West; railroad travel is seriously impeded in Iowa.....Sir Henry Truman Wood, the World's Fair Commissioner from Great Britain, is in Chicago asking for more space for the British exhibit.....It is the first series of elections for the Presidency of Mexico takes place; no opposition to President Diaz.....Prince Bismarck is enthusiastically received at Kissingen.....Rival Irish factions fight in Cork.

Monday, June 27.

The Senate considers the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation Bill.....The House passes the General Deficiency Bill.....The National Committee meets in Washington and elects W. J. Campbell, of Chicago, Chairman in place of General Clarkson.....At the request of the French Minister, the President recalls Captain Borup from the American Legation at Paris.....In Chicago and other Western cities, business is seriously impeded by floods.....In New York City, a prisoner on trial in the Court of General Sessions is shot dead by the brother of the young girl he had assaulted.....The first National Convention of readers and teachers of elocution opens.....The Peary relief party starts on its expedition.

It is said that the Dominion Cabinet will concede a large portion of the claim made in President Harrison's retaliation message.....Lord Salisbury issues an election address; Mr. Balfour makes a speech at Sheffield; Mr. Stanley speaks at Lambeth; Mr. Gladstone's injured eye is nearly well.....Minister Lincoln again warns Americans against the English Estate Agency swindle.

Tuesday, June 28.

In the Senate, Mr. Hale speaks on Free Trade, and is answered by Mr. Vest.....In the House, several Pension Bills are passed.....The Republican State Convention of Indiana, in session at Indianapolis, places Governor Chase at the head of the ticket.....The Prohibition National Committee meets at Cincinnati to select temporary officers for the Convention.....The State League of Republican clubs convenes at Rochester.....The Republican State Committee organizes in New York City; William Brookfield, Chairman; Charles W. Hackett, Chairman of Executive Committee.....It is announced that from July 1 the free list on American goods sent to foreign countries will cover Cuba and Porto Rico.....The new warship, *Texas*, is launched at Norfolk, Va.....The State Board of Assessors resigns, and Governor Flower appoints a new Board.....A telegram from Captain Johnson, of the *Mohican*, announces the capture of three sealing-vessels for violation of the *modus vivendi*.....The New Jersey Republican State Committee organizes.....Thirteen of the Jersey City ballot-box stuffers are sent to State Prison, and seven to the Penitentiary.....In New York City, Judge Lacombe delivers an opinion in favor of the Whiskey Trust.

The British Parliament is dissolved; the Queen's Speech is read in both Houses.....It is announced that cholera has invaded European Russia.....The *North German Gazette* animadverts severely upon the utterances of Prince Bismarck.....The second Congress of the Chambers of Commerce of the British Empire opens in London.....The *Independence Belge* says that Mlle. Helen Vacarisco, the Roumanian poetess, sends every two or three days to Princess Marie of Edinburgh (betrotted to the Crown Prince of Roumania) one of the love-letters received by her from the Crown Prince, and that the Duke of Edinburgh has asked the interference of the Roumanian Government.

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